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THE HEART OF THE PURITAN



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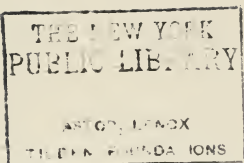
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TORONTO





# THE HEART OF THE PURITAN

SELECTIONS FROM LETTERS AND  
JOURNALS

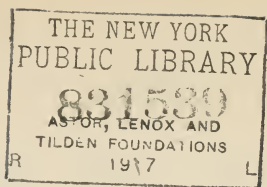
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Ua

L. D. H.

DAUGHTER OF THE PURITANS

Of conservatives most liberal

Of progressives most steadfast

Of all most dear

*Letters are by some wise men counted y<sup>e</sup> best parte  
of histories* —*William Bradford*

## PRÆFATIO

So discerning a critic and precise a scholar as Mr. George Edward Woodberry has written, "The heart of the Puritan is a closed book." Now although this gentleman's reputation is such (and rightly such) that one does not lightly or unthinkingly take issue with him, especially on a point within his own domain of learning, and although it may be thought by some unbecoming for "a female pen" to engage in this or any other venture whereby controversy may be engendered or differences of opinion stated; yet, after much pondering and no little reading, this which Mr. Woodberry stated so categorically remained still to me a question; but one inclining always away from the presumption on which it was based. And so at length, partly because I could not be rid of the vexing puzzle and hence would fain leave it to others to answer, and partly because I found my own heart turning with curiosity at first and later with affection to those men and women into whose lives I looked for many months, I determined to bring together in one place, in a convenient compendium, as it were, some gleanings from many and dusty tomes, some fragments of reality, in the hope that from them might radiate for others, as for me, shafts of light to penetrate the past.

And lest there may seem too much of explanation, and that of a personal kind, in the foregoing, I would add that this my purpose, which it seemed wise to state in the beginning, has of necessity affected and

colored the work that is here set forth. There will be found here but slight, and at times no, reference to many momentous happenings which are written large on the pages of history; and of theological and ecclesiastical controversy there is also but a modicum. (*Laus Deo!*) Many learned and able scholars have dealt with these and like matters, and their books are known and read by many inquiring students. This humble volume has other and more modest ambition, desiring merely to set forth, if may be, the daily life and thought of the Puritans. Hence those curious about weightier matters will find, if they chance to glance at it, many omissions which may seem to them grievous, but of which they can not say they were not fairly and honorably warned, if indeed they ever read these words.

A witty playwright and actor, by his daily walk and conversation far removed from the Puritans, but who had some knowledge which they had not, once wrote of certain things as "but the trappings and the suits of woe." Here, it would seem, is a nice discrimination, and one that it would be wise to retain in our thought of people as somber of garb and serious of demeanor as those whom we call Puritans; but whose hearts were not thereby restrained from concern about mundane affairs or from love of wives and children.

For the free use of the word Puritan, to denote the settlers of both Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Harbor, as well as their contemporaries and descendants who sought the remote regions of the Connecticut Valley and the shores of Long Island Sound, no apology need be offered. It is to some curious and meticulous students a term of limited application;

but its general and larger meaning is apparent to the average reader, for whom alone this book is intended. It is no part of its design to furnish that which would prove “caviare to the general,” to quote again the aforesaid witty play-actor.

For the form in which most of the selections herein contained appear, a word of explanation may be desirable. It is a notable fact that although all the men and some of the women whose words are here quoted had a good, and some a super-excellent, education, being indeed among the most erudite men of the colonies; yet there was little standardizing of that which has later been raised to a very science of spelling. And how much more varied and provocative of interest is the personal wish of the writer than the rules of the schools in matters orthographic may be seen by comparing the many extracts in which the original spelling and punctuation are followed with the few in which regrettably only corrected transcripts are obtainable.

So many minds and hands have made possible this little book that I know not where to begin—and indeed it will be more difficult to stop—in making the acknowledgments which honesty and courtesy alike demand. There is one sweet and gracious lady, to whom on a previous page I have made my devoir, whose help and advice have been constant, without whose judgment this book would not have been compiled and without whose skill the proof would not have been read. There are also sundry damsels in diverse libraries, notably those of Northampton, where learned ladies do congregate, for whose patience and amiability most grateful thanks should be returned; and to my publishers, who have waited long and con-

siderately for the fulfillment of retarded promises, I present my compliments. And if there be others whose help and courtesy I have failed to acknowledge, I trust that they will attribute the cause to no lack of intention or ungraciousness of spirit.

*Northampton, Massachusetts.*

*May 30, 1917.*

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The Prince Society has kindly given permission to use the extracts from the letters of John Checkley.

The frontispiece is from a photograph of Augustus St. Gaudens's statue, The Puritan or Deacon Chapin, in Springfield, Massachusetts.



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Of the coming of diverse godly Men to these Parts  
and of their Endeavours to establish the  
Kingdom of God herein, albeit sorely  
harassed by the Hardships of the  
Land and by evil Men.



The Reverend John Robinson *and* Elder William Brewster *set forth the sad estate of the brethren in Holland in a letter to Sir Edwin Sands.*

Leyden, Desem: 15, An<sup>o</sup>: 1617.

. . . 1. We verly beleewe & trust y<sup>e</sup> Lord is with us, unto whom & whose service we have given ourselves in many trialls; and that he will graciously prosper our indeavours according to y<sup>e</sup> simplicitie of our harts therin.

2<sup>ly</sup>. We are well weaned from y<sup>e</sup> delicate milke of our mother countrie, and enured to y<sup>e</sup> difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in a great parte we have by patience overcome.

3<sup>ly</sup>. The people are for the body of them, industrious, & frugall, we thinke we may safly say, as any company of people in the world.

4<sup>ly</sup>. We are knite togeather as a body in a most stricte & sacred bond and covenante of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by vertue wherof we doe hould our selves straitly tied to all care of each others good, and of y<sup>e</sup> whole by every one and so mutually.

5. Lastly, it is not with us as with other men; whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish them selves at home againe. We knowe our entertainmente in England, and in Holand; we shall much prejudice both our arts & means by removall; who, if we should be driven to returne, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed looke ever, for our selves, to attaine unto y<sup>e</sup> like in any other place dur-

ing our lives, w<sup>ch</sup> are now drawing towards their periods. . . .

Governour William Bradford *recounts the departure of the Pilgrims from Delft Haven and their arrival at Cape Cod in a far country.*

[July, 1620]

. . . So being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his texte from Ezra 8. 21. *And ther at y<sup>e</sup> river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spent a good parte of y<sup>e</sup> day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion. The rest of the time was spent in powering out prairs to y<sup>e</sup> Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And y<sup>e</sup> time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of y<sup>e</sup> citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven, wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte y<sup>t</sup> goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to y<sup>e</sup> heavens, their dearest countrie, and quieted their spirits. When they came to y<sup>e</sup> place they found y<sup>e</sup> ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with litle sleepe by y<sup>e</sup> most, but with freindly entertainmente & christian discourse and other reall expressions of

true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was y<sup>e</sup> sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praises did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch strangers y<sup>t</sup> stood on y<sup>e</sup> key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But y<sup>e</sup> tide (which stays for no man) caling them away y<sup>t</sup> were thus loath to departe, their Re<sup>v</sup><sup>e</sup><sup>d</sup>: pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheeks comended them with most fervente praiera to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be y<sup>e</sup> last leave to many of them. . . .

[November 11, 1620]

. . . . Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed y<sup>e</sup> God of heaven, who had brought them over y<sup>e</sup> vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all y<sup>e</sup> periles & miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on y<sup>e</sup> firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. . . .

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers y<sup>e</sup> same. Being thus passed y<sup>e</sup> vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation . . . they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten

bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to y<sup>e</sup> apostle & his shipwra ked company, y<sup>t</sup> the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for y<sup>e</sup> season it was winter, and they that know y<sup>e</sup> winters of y<sup>t</sup> cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. . . . For su<sup>m</sup>er being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and y<sup>e</sup> whole cuntrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was y<sup>e</sup> mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to separte them from all y<sup>e</sup> civill parts of y<sup>e</sup> world. . . . What could now sustaine them but y<sup>e</sup> spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wildernes; but they cried unto y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them therfore praise y<sup>e</sup> Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from y<sup>e</sup> hand of y<sup>e</sup> oppressour. When they wandered in y<sup>e</sup> deserte wildernes out of y<sup>e</sup> way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed in them. Let*

*them confess before y<sup>e</sup> Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderful works before y<sup>e</sup> sons of men. . . .*

John Winthrop, *the younger, engages for the New England venture.*

S<sup>r</sup>, . . . For the businesse of N. E., I can say noe other thing, but that I beleeeve confidently, that the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord, who disposeth all alterations, by his blessed will, to his owne glory and the good of his; &, therefore, doe assure my selfe, that all things shall worke together for the best therin. And for my selfe, I have seene so much of the vanity of the world, that I esteeme noe more of the diversities of countries, then as so many innes, whereof the travailer that hath lodged in the best, or in the worst, findeth noe difference, when he commeth to his journies end; and I shall call that my countrie, where I may most glorifie God, & enjoy the presence of my dearest freinds. Therfore heerin I submit my selfe to Gods wil & yours, &, w<sup>th</sup> your leave, doe dedicate my selfe (laying by all desire of other imployments whatsoever) to the service of God & the Cōpany herin, w<sup>th</sup> the whole endeavours, both of body & mind.

The Conclusions,\* w<sup>ch</sup> you sent downe, I showed my uncle & aunt, who like them well. I thinke they are unanaswerable; & it cannot but be a prosperous action, w<sup>ch</sup> is so well allowed by the judgment of Gods prophets, undertaken by so religious & wise worthies of Israell, & indented to Gods glory in so speciall a service.

\* A paper by John Winthrop, the elder, justifying the colonization of New England.

. . . So, desiring your praiers & blessing, I cōmend you to the Almightyes protection, & rest

Your obedient sonne, John Winthrop.

Lond., Aug. 21, 1629.

Governour John Winthrop, *the elder, when ready to depart from Old England, bids farewell to his beloved helpmeet, and on arrival at Massachusetts Bay sends directions for her coming hither.*

. . . And now (my sweet soul) I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth very near to my heart to leave thee; but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to him who loves thee much better than any husband can, who hath taken account of the hairs of thy head, and puts all thy tears in his bottle, who can, and (if it be for his glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort. Oh, how it refresheth my heart, to think, that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living! — that lovely countenance, that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content! I have hitherto been so taken up with business, as I could seldom look back to my former happiness; but now, when I shall be at some leisure, I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me, but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays, at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet, if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God, that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy

heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in mine arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell, farewell. I bless you all in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . .

Thine wheresoever,            Jo. Winthrop.  
From aboard the *Arbella*, riding at the *Cowes*,  
March 28, 1630.

My deare Wife,—I wrote to thee by my brother Arthur, but I durst write no more then I need not care though it misscarried, for I found him the olde man still; yet I would have kept him to ease my brother, but that his owne desire to returne, & the scarcitye of provisions heer, yielded the stronger reason to let him goe. Now (my good wife) let us ioyne in praysinge o<sup>r</sup> mercifull God, that (howsoever he hath afflicted us, both generally & particularly mine owne family in his stroke upon my sonne Henry) yet myselfe & the rest of o<sup>r</sup> children & familye are safe & in health, & that he upholds o<sup>r</sup> hearts that we fainte not in all o<sup>r</sup> troubles, but can yet waite for a good issue. And howsoever our fare be but coarse in respect of what we formerly had, (pease, puddings & fish, beinge o<sup>r</sup> ordinary diet,) yet he makes it sweet & wholesome to us, that I may truely say I desire no better: Besides in this, that he beginnes w<sup>th</sup> us thus in affliction, it is the greater argument to us of his love, & of the goodnesse of the worke w<sup>ch</sup> we are about; for Sathan bends his forces against us, & stirres up his instruments to all kinde of mischief, so that I thinke heere are some persons who never

shewed so much wickednesse in England as they have doone heer. Therefore be not discouraged (my deare Wife) by anythinge thou shalt heare from hence, for I see no cause to repente of o<sup>r</sup> coming hether, & thou seest (by o<sup>r</sup> experience) that God can bringe safe hether even the tenderest women & the youngest children (as he did many in diverse shippes, though the voyage were more teadious than formerly hath been knowne in this season.) Be sure to be warme clothed, & to have store of fresh provisions, meale, eggs putt up in salt or grounde mault, butter, ote meale, pease, & fruits, & a large stronge chest or 2: well locked, to keepe these provisions in; & be sure they be bestowed in the shippe where they may be readily come by, (w<sup>ch</sup> the boatswaine will see to & the quarter masters, if they be rewarded beforehande,) but for these thinges my sonne will take care: Be sure to have ready at sea 2: or 3: skilletts of severall syzes, a large fryinge panne, a small stewinge panne, & a case to boyle a pudding in; store of linnen for use at sea, & sacke to bestowe among the saylers: some drinkinge vessells, & peuter & other vessells: & for phisick you shall need no other but a pound of Doctor Wright's *Electuariū lenitiuū*, & his direction to use it, a gallon of scirvy grasse to drinke a litle 5: or 6: morninges together, w<sup>th</sup> some saltpeter dissolved in it, & a litle grated or sliced nutmege.

Thou must be sure to bringe no more companye then so many as shall have full provisiō for a yeare & halfe, for though the earth heere be very fertile yet there must be tyme & meanes to rayse it; if we have corne enough we may live plentifully. Yet all these are but the meanes w<sup>ch</sup> God hath ordayned to doe us good by: o<sup>r</sup> eyes must be towards him, who as he can

w<sup>th</sup>ould blessings from the strongest meanes, so he can give sufficient vertue to the weakest. I am so streightened w<sup>th</sup> much businesse, as can no waye satisfie myselfe in wrightinge to thee. The Lorde will in due tyme lett us see the faces of each other againe to o<sup>r</sup> great comforte: Now the Lord in mercye blesse, guide & supporte thee: I kisse & embrace thee my deare wife. I kisse & blesse you all my deare children; Forth, Mary, Deane, Sam, & the other: the Lorde keepe you all & worke his true feare in yo<sup>r</sup> hearts. The blessing of the Lorde be upon all my servants, whom salute from me, Jo: Samford, Amy &c, Goldston; Pease, Chote &c: my good freinds at Castlins & all my good neighbo<sup>rs</sup>, goodman Cole & his good wife, & all the rest:

Remember to come well furnished w<sup>th</sup> linnen, woollen, some more beddinge, brasse, peuter, leather bottells, drinkinge hornes &c: let my sonne provide 12: axes of severall sorts of the Braintree Smithe, or some other prime workman; whatever they coste, & some Augers great & smale, & many other necessaryes w<sup>ch</sup> I cant now thinke of, as candles, sope, & store of beife suett, &c: once againe farewell my deare wife.

Thy faithfull husband Jo: Winthrop.  
Charlton in N: England July 23: 1630.

*The fertility of the soil and the happy condition of the Hartford settlement, likewise the scarcity of servants and laborers, expounded in a letter by Governour John Winthrop, the younger.*

. . . I must lett you first know that, through the great blessing of the Lord upon the labours of the

people heere, there is a cōfortable supply of all sorts of corne & provitions necessary for subsistance, & that not only for themselves (the present inhabitants), but also for many others; so as it is not now as in our beginnings, when we were necessitated to bring w<sup>th</sup> vs provitions sufficient for a long tyme, but now the country doth send out great store of biscott, flower, peas, beife, porke, butter, & other provisions to the supply of Barbados, Newfoundland, & other places, besides the furnishing out many vessells & fishing boats of their owne, so as those who come over may supply themselves at very reasonable rates. The vsuall price of wheat is about 4s. p bushell, & Indiā corne about 2s. or 2.6 p bushell, and other things proportionable w<sup>ch</sup> are produced here. This country also is now well stoced w<sup>th</sup> horses, cowes, sheepe, & goates, so as such as come over may not only be furnished w<sup>th</sup> all sorts of fresh & salted meate for their families, but may stock themselves w<sup>th</sup> such sorts of cattle as they desire at indifferent rates. And if they doe not desire to make new beginnings in planting new places in the woods, as the first planters have done, they may settle themselves in such townes or plantations as are already settled, by purchasing or hiring cōvenient houses & lands, cultured and fenced, at very moderate rates. . . . There may also tobacco be raised. Some have had good croppes, but it is not yet so generally planted as to make trade of it. Rape oyle, also, its probable might be raised, w<sup>ch</sup> is a staple cōmodity. I should also give notice y<sup>t</sup> it is very necessary for them y<sup>t</sup> come over to supply themselves w<sup>th</sup> good servants, being scarce to be hired for any tyme heere; also as for poorer sort of people, if they be labouring

men or good trades, they may be set on worke profitably; & if any have children fitt for service, they may be received into very good [*illegible*] services presently. . . .

Your much obliged servant & kinsmā,

John Winthrop.

Hartford in New England,

Sept: 19, 1660.

*As appears in this communication to the Commander of the Dutch at Manhattan the Governour of Connecticut will withhold neither words nor blows in defence of the subjects of his sovereign.*

[Oct. 21, 1673]

S<sup>r</sup>, — It being not the māner of Christiā or civill nations to disturbe y<sup>e</sup> poore people in cottages and open villages, in the tymes of warr, much lesse to impose oathes upon them, but to suffer them to goe on w<sup>th</sup> their husbandry, and other country affaires, we cānot but wonder to heere y<sup>t</sup> some of yours (not-w<sup>th</sup>standing a caution formerly to the sea cōmāders), having beene lately downe towards the easterne end of Long Island, have vrged his Ma<sup>ties</sup> subiects there to take an oath contrary to their due allegiance to their sovereigne, and to vse many threatning expressions towards them in case of refusall of such an oath; we thought fitt therfore hereby to let you know y<sup>t</sup> we can scarce beleive y<sup>t</sup> such cōmission could proceed frō your selfe, whō we have heard to be a soldier, and well acquainted w<sup>th</sup> martiall affaires, and may suppose you vnderstand better the law of nations and the customes & vsages of psons of honor, in their pretēces of warr: and we cānot guesse at the reasons

should move to such molestations towards poore planters, except it be to atteine some plausible pretence for plundering and pillaging, w<sup>ch</sup> if it should be done, we know very well there may be easy reparation among your boores & open dorpes; but the English will scorne such vnchristian designs, exopt barbarous depredations frō yourselves should necessitate retribution to the iniured. You may be assured if you proceed in provocations to constreine the rising of the English colonies, they will not make it their worke to tamper w<sup>th</sup> your paisents about swearing, but deale w<sup>th</sup> your head quarters (w<sup>ch</sup> yet if reduced to obedience to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> may certainly expect therby much more happinesse & larger immunities w<sup>th</sup>out such imposures then can be inioyed by them in the station wherin they now are). M<sup>r</sup> John Bankes is the messinger by whom we send these, who cā further informe you how tender we are of effusion of Christian blood, yet cānot but resent w<sup>th</sup> great indignation if any malicious oppression shalbe forced upon oure deare neighbours, his Ma<sup>ties</sup> good subiects. These animadversions are represented to your serious cōsideration fro

J. A.

In the name & by order of the Gov<sup>r</sup> [*torn*] Assembly.

Madam Knight, *on an adventurous journey from Boston to New York, sojourns for a season in Connecticut and passes judgment upon its laws and customs.*

[1704]

. . . They are Govern'd by the same Laws as wee in Boston, (or little differing,) thr'out this whole

Colony of Connecticott, And much the same way of Church Government, and many of them good, Sociable people, and I hope Religious too; but a little too much Independant in their principalls, and, as I have been told, were formerly in their Zeal very Riggid in their Administrations toward such as their Lawes made Offenders, even to a harmless Kiss or Innocent merriment among Young people. Whipping being a frequent and counted an easy Punishment, about w<sup>ch</sup> as other Crimes, the Judges were absolute in their Sentences. . . .

Their Diversions in this part of the Country are on Lecture days and Training days mostly: on the former there is Riding from town to town.

And on training dayes The Youth divert themselves by Shooting at the Target, as they call it, (but it very much resembles a pillory,) where hee that hitti neerest the white has some yards of Red Ribbin presented him, w<sup>ch</sup> being tied to his hattband, the two ends streeming down his back, he is Led away in Triumph, w<sup>th</sup> great applause, as the winners of the Olympiac Games. They generally marry very young: the males oftener as I am told under twentie than above; they generally make public weddings, and have a way something singular (as they say) in some of them, viz. Just before Joyning hands the Bridegroom quitti the place, who is soon followed by the Bridesmen, and as it were, dragg'd back to duty — being the reverse to y<sup>e</sup> former practice among us, to steal m<sup>s</sup> Pride. . . .

There are every where in the Towns as I passed, a Number of Indians the Natives of the Country, and are the most salvage of all the salvages of that kind that I had ever Seen: little or no care taken (as I

heard upon enquiry) to make them otherwise. They have in some places Landes of their owne, and Govern'd by Law's of their own making; — they marry many wives and at pleasure put them away, and on the y<sup>e</sup> least dislike or fickle humour, on either side, saying *stand away* to one another is a sufficient Divorce. And indeed those uncomely *Stand aways* are too much in Vougue among the English in this (Indulgent Colony) as their Records plentifully prove, and that on very trivial matters, of which some have been told me, but are not proper to be Related by a Female pen. . . .

Of Boston, the chief Town of the Massachusetts  
Colony, of its Buildings, both public and  
private, and of its Inhabitants.



*Boston as seen and described by two visitors to these parts.*

[Boston, March 25, 1686]

. . . The Houses are for the most part raised on the Sea-Banks, and wharfed out with great Industry and Cost; many of them standing upon Piles, close together on each side the streets, as in London, and furnished with many fair Shops; where all sorts of Commodities are sold. Their streets are many and large, paved with Pebbles; the Materials of their Houses are Brick, Stone, Lime, handsomely contrived, and when any New Houses are built, they are made conformable to our New Buildings in London since the fire. Mr. Shrimpton has a very stately house there, with a Brass Kettle atop, to shew his Father\* was not asham'd of his Original. . . . They have Three Fair and Large Meeting-Houses or Churches, commodiously built in several parts of the Town, which yet are hardly sufficient to receive the Inhabitants, and strangers that come in from all Parts.

Their Town-House is built upon Pillars in the middle of the Town, where their Merchants meet and confer every Day. In the Chambers above they keep their Monthly Courts. The South-side of the Town is adorned with Gardens and Orchards. The Town is rich and very populous, much frequented by strangers. Here is the Dwelling of Bradstreet, Esq., their present Governour. On the North-west and

\* Samuel Shrimpton's father, Henry Shrimpton, had been a brazier in London.

North-East, two constant Fairs are kept, for daily traffick thereunto. On the South, there is a small but pleasant Common, where the Gallants a little before sunset walk with their Marmalet Madams, as we do in Moorfield, &c., till the Nine-a-Clock Bell rings them home; after which the Constables walk their Rounds to see good orders kept, and to take up loose people. In the high-street towards the Common, there are very fair Buildings, some of which are of stone. . . . But I need give you no further a Description of Boston; for I remember you have been at Bristol, which bears a very near Resemblance to Boston. . . .

—*John Dunton.*

[1750]

. . . Boston the Metropolis of North America Is Accounted The Largest Town upon the Continent, Haveing about Three Thousand Houses in it, about two Thirds them Wooden Framed Clap Boarded &c. and some of them Very Spacious Buildings which together with their Gardens about them Cover a Great deal Ground they are for the most Part Two and three Stories high mostly Sashd. Their Brick Buildings are much better and Stronger Built, more after the Modern Taste all Sashd and Pretty well Ornamented haveing Yards and Gardens Adjoyning Also. The Streets are very Irregular the Main Streets are Broad and Paved with Stone the Cross Streets are but Narrow mostly Paved Except towards the Outskirts the Towne. The Towne Extends abt two Miles in Length North and South and is in some places  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile and Others  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile Broad has One Main Street Run<sup>g</sup> the whole Length The Towne from

North to South and Tolerable broad. . . . The Harbour is defended by a Strong Castle of a Hundred Guns Built upon An Island where the Shipping must pass by and within Hale its Situation is Extraordinary as it Commands on Every Side and is Well Built and kept in Exceeding Good Order. . . . This Place has about Twelve Meeting Houses and Three Curches which are all Very Indifferent Buildings of no manner of Architect but Very Plain at the North End they have a Ring of Bells, which are but Very Indifferent. They have but One Markett which is all Built of Brick about Eighty Foot Long and Arch'd on Both Sides being Two Stories heigh the upper part Sashd, which Comprehends Several The Publick Offices the Towne, at the Southermost End is the Naval Office The Middle The Surveyars the Marketts Offices. They have Also a Town House Built of Brick, Situated in Kings Street, Its a very Grand Building Brick Arch'd all Round and Two Storie Heigh Sashd above, its Lower Part is always Open Designd as a Change, tho the Merchants in Fair Weather make their Change in the Open Street at the Eastermost End, in the upper Story are the Councill and Assembly Chambers &c. it has a Neat Cupulo Sashd all round and which on rejoycing days is elluminated. . . . In Boston they are very Strict Observers of the Sabath day and in Service times no Persons are allow'd the Streets but Doctors if you are found upon the Streets and the Constables meet you they Compell you to go either to Curch or Meeton as you Chuse, also in Sweareing if you are Catcht you must Pay a Crown Old Tenor for Every Oath being Convicted thereof without farther dispute. . . .

— *Francis Goelet.*

*Comments on Boston men and manners by sundry travellers and sojourners.*

[July 23, 1680]

. . . They baptize no children except those of the members of the congregation. All their religion consists in observing Sunday, by not working or going into the taverns on that day. . . . There is a penalty for cursing and swearing, such as they please to impose, the witnesses thereof being at liberty to insist upon it. Nevertheless you discover little difference between this and other places. Drinking and fighting occur there not less than elsewhere; and as to truth and true godliness, you must not expect more of them than of others. . . .

— *Jasper Danckaerts.*

[March, 1686]

. . . The first English that came over hither, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's, and the Beginning of King James's Reign, forced therto by the severe Treatment they met with from the Bishops in England, were certainly the most Pious and Religious Men in the World, Men that had experienc'd the Power of Divine Grace upon their own Souls, and were the lively Patterns of Primitive Zeal and Integrity; and wou'd have converted all the World, if they cou'd; especially their own Posterity: but alas; this blessed Wind of the Spirit blows where it listeth; Many of them were converted and made truly Gracious and these walk to this Day in the steps of their Pious Fore-fathers: But there are others of them, who never knew the Power of Converting Grace, who yet retain a form of Godliness, and make a strict Profession of the out-side of Religion, tho' they never knew

what the Power of Godliness was; and these are the most Profligate and Debauched Wretches in the World; their Profession of Religion teaching them only how to sin (as they think) more refinedly. . . .

But I shall say something of the Inhabitants, as 10 months of my Life was spent amongst 'em. There is no Trading for a stranger with them but with a Grecian Faith, which is, not to part with your Ware without ready Money; for they are generally very backward in their Payments, great censors of other Men's Manners, but extreemly careless of their own, yet they have a ready correction for every vice. As to their Religion, I cannot perfectly distinguish it; but it is such that nothing keeps 'em friends but only the fear of exposing one another's knavery. . . .

Their Laws for Reformation of manners, are very severe, yet but little regarded by the People, so at least as to make 'em better, or cause 'em to mend their manners.


For being drunk, they either Whip or impose a Fine of Five Shillings: And yet notwithstanding this Law, there are several of them so addicted to it, that they begin to doubt whether it be a Sin or no; and seldom go to Bed without Muddy Brains.

For Cursing and Swearing, they bore through the Tongue with a hot Iron.

For kissing a woman in the Street, though but in way of Civil Salute, Whipping or a Fine. . . .

Scolds they gag, and set them at their own Doors, for certain hours together, for all comers and goers to gaze at. Were this a Law in England, and well Executed, it wou'd in a little Time prove an Effectual Remedy to cure the Noise that is in many women's heads.

Stealing is punished with Restoring four-fold, if



able; if not, they are sold for some years, and so are poor Debtors. I have not heard of many Criminals of this sort. But for Lying and Cheating, they out-vye Judas, and all the false other cheats in Hell. . . .

— *John Dunton.*

October 13. [1740.] Boston is a large populous place, and very wealthy. It has the form kept up very well, but has lost much of the power of religion. I have not heard of any remarkable stir in it for many years. Ministers and people are obliged to confess that the love of many is waxed cold. Both seem too much conformed to the world. There is much of the pride of life to be seen in their assemblies. Jewels, patches, and gay apparel are commonly worn by the female sex. I observed little boys and girls commonly dressed up in the pride of life; and the infants, that were brought to baptism, were wrapped in such finery, that one would think they were brought thither, to be initiated into, rather than to renounce, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Boston, however, is remarkable for the external observance of the Sabbath. Men in civil offices have a regard for religion. The governor encourages them; and the ministers and magistrates seem to be more united, than those in any other place where I have been. I never saw so little scoffing; never had so little opposition. Still, I fear, many rest in a head-knowledge, are close Pharisees, and have only a name to live. Boston people are dear to my soul. . . . There are nine meeting-houses of the Congregational persuasion; one Baptist; one French; and one belonging to the Scotch-Irish.

— *George Whitefield.*

Of Affairs domestic and personal, including many  
Details of Life and Conduct.



*A gentleman's house is ordered and another gentleman's country seat is described, following which appears an account of a hut inhabited by a poor man.*

To the Right Worshipfull his much honored brother  
John Wentthrop of Ipswich, Esq: speed this  
I pray.

[1637]

Good Sir, — . . . Concerneinge the frame of the howse, I thanke you kindly for your love & care to further my busines. I could be well content to leave much of the contrivance to your owne liberty vpon what we have talked together about it already. I am indiferent whether it be 30 foote or 35 foote longe; 16 or 18 foote broade. I would have wood chimnyes at each end, the frames of the chimnyes to be stronger then ordinary, to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimnyes be all the breadth of the howse, if you thinke good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the howse, one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dorewaies in every place be soe high that any man may goe vpright vnder. The staires I thinke had best be placed close by the dore. It makes noe great matter though there be noe partition vpon the first flore; if there be, make one bigger then the other. For windows, let them not be over large in any roome, & as few as conveniently may be; . . . In this story over the first, I would have a partition, whether in the midst or over the partition vnder, I leave it. In the garrett noe partition, but let there

be one or two lucome \* windowes, if two, both on one side. I desire to have the sparrs reach downe pretty deep at the eves to preserve the walls the better from the wether, I would have it sellered all over, & soe the frame of the howse accordengly from the bottom. I would have the howse stronge in timber, though plaine & well brased. I would have it covered with very good oake-hart inch board, *for the present*, to be tacked on onely for the present, as you tould me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the seller, & soe in the ordinary way vp-right, for I can hereafter (to save the timber within ground) run vp a thin brickworke without. I thinke it best to have the walls without to be all clapboarded besides the clay walls. It were not amisse to leave a dore-way or two within the seller, that soe hereafter one may make comings in from without, & let them be both vpon that side which the lucome window or windowes be. . . .

Yours ever,

S. Symonds.

[1750]

. . . The House is Built in the Form of a Long Square, with Wings at Each End and is about 80 Foot Long, in the middle is a Grand Hall Surrounded above by a Fine Gallery with Neat turned Bannester and the Cealing of the Hall Representing a Large doom Designd for an Assembly or Ball Room, the Gallery for the Mucisians &c. the Building has Four Doors Fronting the N. E. S. & W. Standing in the middle the Great Hall you have a Full View of the Country from the Four Dores at the Ends of the

\* Luthern?

Buildings is 2 upper and 2 Lower Rooms with neat Stair Cases Leadeing to them in One the Lower Rooms is his Library and Studdy well Stockd with a Noble Colection of Books. . . .

— *Francis Goelet.*

[1704]

. . . This little Hutt was one of the wretchedest I ever saw a habitation for human creatures. It was suported with shores enclosed with clapbords, laid on Lengthways, and so much asunder, that the Light come throu' every where; the doore tyed on w<sup>th</sup> a cord in y<sup>e</sup> place of hinges; The floor the bear earth; no windows but such as the thin covering afforded, nor any furniture but a Bedd w<sup>th</sup> a glass Bottle hanging at y<sup>e</sup> head on't; an earthan cupp, a small pewter Bason, A Board w<sup>th</sup> sticks to stand on, instead of a table, and a block or two in y<sup>e</sup> corner instead of chairs. . . .

— *Sarah Knight.*

*The Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather suffers distraction in his spirit and congelation of his wit by reason of the extremity of the weather.*

[January 23, 1697]

I attempted, this Day, the Exercises of a secret FAST before the Lord. But so extremely cold was the weather, that in a warm Room, on a great Fire, the Juices forced out at the End of short Billets of Wood, by the Heat of the Flame, on which they were laid, yett froze into Ice, at their coming out. This Extremity of the Cold caused mee to desist from

the purpose, which I was upon; because I saw it impossible to serve the Lord, without such Distraction, as was inconvenient.

[January 11, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>10</sup>]

Tis dreadful cold. My Ink-glass in my Standish is froze & splitt, in my very stove. My Ink in my very pen suffers a congelation: but my witt much more.

Judge Samuel Sewall *orders from London house furnishings for his daughter Judith, about to enter the married estate.*

Boston, N. E., Feb. 20, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>10</sup>.

Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Storke, and

Loving Cousin,—I thank you for yours of the 11<sup>th</sup>. June last, and the Prints. . . . I entreat you to endeavour, that the severals mentioned on the other side, may be well bought. They are for my daughter Judith. Provide a well-made Trunk to put them in, and cover it. Though the Case-knives be the last mentioned, I would not have you fail sending them; a Duž Forks, and a Duz Knives. Your undertaking this Trouble for my youngest Child, will be very obliging. I will write a Letter to Mr. John Storke of Rumsey, to furnish you with Money. . . . I would have you send what I write for, by the first good Ship that you can conveniently. I am Sir, your loving Kinsman, and humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

S. S.

Item a good Box-Iron to Iron with.

MEMORANDA.

To be Bought

Curtains and Vallens for a Bed, with Counterpane, Head-Cloth and Tester, of good yellow waterd worsted camlet, with Trīmīng, well made: and Bases, if it be the fashion.

A good fine large Chintz Quilt well made.

A True Looking Glass of black Walnut Frame of the newest Fashion (if the Fashion be good), as good as can be bought for five or six pounds.

A second Looking Glass as good as can be bought for four or Five pounds, same kind of frame.

A duzen of good black Walnut Chairs, fine Cane, with a Couch. A duzen of Cane Chairs of a different figure, and a great Chair, for a Chamber; all black Walnut.

One Bell-mettal Skillet of two Quarts: one ditto one Quart.

One good large Warming Pan bottom and Cover fit for an Iron handle.

Four pair of strong Iron Dogs with Brass heads, about five or six shillings a pair.

A Brass Hearth for a Chamber, with Dogs, Shovel, Tongs and Fender of the newest Fashion. (the Fire is to ly upon Iron).

A strong Brass Mortar, that will hold about a Quart, with a Pestle.

Two pair of large Brass sliding Candlesticks, about four shillings a pair.

Two pair of large Brass Candlesticks, not sliding, of the newest Fashion, about five or six shillings a pair.

Four Brass Snuffers, with Stands:

Six small strong Brass Chafing-dishes, about four Shillings a-piece.

One Brass basting Ladle; one larger Brass Ladle.

One pair of Chamber Bellows with Brass Noses.

One small Hair Broom sutable to the Bellows.

One duzen of large hard-mettal Pewter Plates, new Fashion weighing about fourteen pounds.

One Duzen hard-mettal Pewter Porringers.

Four Duzen of small Glass Salt-cellars, of white glass, Smoothe, not wrought, and without a foot.

And if there be any Money over, send a piece of fine Cambrick, and a Ream of good Writing Paper.

A Duzen of good Ivory-hafted Knives and Forks.

*A listed inventory of the personal possessions of a lady of quality deceased in Boston.*

An Account of what was put up in Madam Usher's Chest June 29, 1725, to send to London, according to the Order of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Thomas Cotton, and his Lady Madam Bridget Cotton; To send by the Mary Gally, Thomas Dimond Commander.

*Imprimis*, One pair of Sheets, Five Table-Cloths, Thirteen Napkins; Diapar, and Damask; Nine Towells, One pillow-bier, Seven Holland Shifts, and a Flañel one. Twelve pair of Sheets. Nine aprons, five of them short. Nine Hoods of several sorts, one Night-Rail. Four Head-Dresses. Three pair of Pockets, one Stomacher. Eighteen Hand-kerchiefs; linen, Silk, Gaws. One Red Silk Purse fill'd with Knots and Girdles.

One black Paddisway Suit; One Linen Gown and Coat. One New Suit of blew Damask Lined with

blew Lute-string; One Satin Night-Gown and Coat lined with Red Lute-String; One Silk Dress Gown.

One full Suit of Striped Satin lined with Cloth-coloured Lute-string, One Silk Night-Gown, and three pairs of Stays. One pair Silk Stockings, one pair ditto Worsted, One pair of Shoes; one Scarf; two Feather Screens, one black Quilted Coat, and two Silk Bonnets.

Several Pieces of Earthern Ware were stowd among the Cloaths.

Two Rings deliverd Capt. Dimond.

I am blest in whom my heart doth rest —

The R<sup>t</sup>. Honb<sup>le</sup>. L<sup>d</sup>. James Russell ob<sup>t</sup>. 22 June, 1712. w<sup>t</sup>. 8 p. w<sup>t</sup>. 8 Grains. }

Plate put into the Cotton and Linen Bag Seald up.

One Tankard standing upon Lions; one large Plate, One Salver. One large porringer with a Cover. One small Cann. One Candlestick and Snuffers. Two Salts. One Pepper Box. One Money-Box. One Seal &<sup>c</sup>, one Fork, one Tabacco Sto<sup>p</sup>er. One small Tumbler, One Thimble and Three broken pieces of Silver.

W<sup>t</sup>. 98 ounces, Four peny w<sup>t</sup>. and 7 Grains.

*Books in the Box.*

One Fol. English Bible, 1682. One Quarto ditto. One N. E. Psalm-Book. Dr. Owen's fourth part of his Exposition on the Hebrews.

One Manuscript in Quarto. A Psalm-book recommended by Dr. Manton &c. Dyke's worthy Comūnicant, Cole's Christian Religion: Colman on the Ten Virgins; Dr. Mather on the Beatitudes. Ryther's plat for Mariners: Foxcroft's Godly Mans Death.

Dr. Owen on the Glory of Christ. Trinity vin-

licated. Spiritual Songs. Funerall Sermon on Grove Hirst Esqr. Dr. Sibb's Cristian's Portion. Twelve Sermons by Mr. Wadsworth. Dr. Patrick's Version of the Psalms. Five Sermons by Dr. Mather. Pearse his Preparation for Death. Mitchell of Glory. Mr. Tomlyns Sermons. Doolittell of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Pearse's last Legacy. Fox's Door of Heaven. Manuscript Octavo, Myrtle Grove. Sermons of Mr. Joseph Stephens. Grail's Sum of the Holy History. Hymns and Spiritual Songs p Mr. Watts. Disce Vivere, English Letter, pages 558. Besides several small Books unbound but stitch'd only.

Boston, July 19, 1725. The foregoing is Account of what is now a-board the Mary Gally, Thomas Dimond Comānder, for London; and goes consign'd to Mr. Samuel Storke, to whom we enclose Bill of Lading.

Samuel Sewall.  
W<sup>m</sup>. Welsted.

*In despite of decisions of courts the pursuit of fashion continues to prevail, as witness numerous letters and journals.*

[Sept. 25, 1638]

The court, taking into consideration the great disorder general through the country in costliness of apparel, and following new fashions, sent for the elders of the churches, and conferred with them about it, and laid it upon them, as belonging to them, to redress it, by urging it upon the consciences of their people, which they promised to do. But

little was done about it; for diverse of the elders' wives, etc., were in some measure partners in this general disorder.

— *John Winthrop.*

Worthy Sir, Deare Ffather, — The continuall experience that I enioy of yo<sup>r</sup> tender love and care to a child, though I confesse an undeseruinge one, (yet) yo<sup>r</sup> love emboldens mee to p<sup>r</sup>sent my humble duty and respect I owe, and shall render with my might and power, to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, soe longe as it pleaseth the Lord to continue my life. I haue found soe much yo<sup>r</sup> love and see that neither time nor distance of place doth diminish or blast the same, w<sup>ch</sup> I confesse and desire to acknowledge as a great mercy and the cheife comfort for a temporall that I have to solace my selfe withall. Father, I trust in Him who hath the harts and the disposinge of them in His hand, that I haue not provoked you to harbor soe ill an opinion of me as my mothers f<sup>r</sup>es. do signifie and give me to vnderstand; the ill opinion and hard pswasion w<sup>ch</sup> shee beares of mee, that is to say, that I should abuse yo<sup>r</sup> goodnes, and bee prodigall of yo<sup>r</sup> purse, neglectfull of my brothers bands and of my slatterishnes and lasines; for my brothers bands I will not excuse my selfe, but I thinke not worthy soe sharpe a reproofe; for the rest I must needs excuse, and cleare my selfe if I may bee beleived. I doe not know my selfe guilty of any of them; for myne owne part I doe not desire to bee myne owne iudge, but am willinge to bee iudged by them with whom I live and sees my course, whether I bee addicted to such thinges or noe. For my habitt, it is meane, for the most, as many seruants, and if I had not had money

w<sup>ch</sup> I had for some thinges here, I might haue wanted necessaries w<sup>ch</sup> I could not have bin without, except I should haue made you a score here, w<sup>ch</sup> I was not willinge to doe. I writt to my mother for lace, not out of any prodigall or proud mind, but onely for some crosse cloathes, which is the most allowable and comēdable dressinge here. Shee would have mee weare dressings, w<sup>ch</sup> I did soe longe as they would suffer mee, whilst the elders with others intreated mee to leaue them off, for they gave great offence; and seeinge it hath pleased the Lord to bringe mee hither amongst His people I would not willingly doe any thinge amongst them that should be displeasinge unto them. But for myne owne part since my sendinge for thinges gives such offence I will be more sparinge in that kind hereafter. . . . Father, I pceiue by yo<sup>r</sup> fres that you would very willingly to have mee change my condition, w<sup>ch</sup> I must confesse I might soe may with divers, if the Lord pleased to move my hart to accept any of them, but I desire to wayte upon Him that can change my hart at His will. Thus with my humble duty to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe and my mother craving pdon of you both, and of her if I have given her any offence, and soe desiringe yo<sup>r</sup> prayers to Him who is able to give wisdom and direction to me in all thinges I rest

Yo<sup>r</sup> obedient daughter till death

Mary Downinge.

Boston 27th of Novemb: 1635.

[Boston, November 11, 1695]

. . . I desire you would bring me a very good camlet cloake, lyned with what you like except blew; it may be purple or red, or striped with those or

other colours, if so worn; also a good suite from head to foote, such as you like for yourselfe, fit for the summer; with two wiggs, one a campane, the other short, a good hat, &c.; also a suite from top to toe, & hat for John and an other for Ann. John was fourteen last August, and is about fower foote seven inches high; and Ann is nine years old, four foote and two inches high. It must be remembred thay are growing, and will be something older when any thing comes. You will advise with som of your acquaintance what is sutable and fashionable for them. Ann sends her thanks to the gentlewoman for her handkercher. I like not a whiteish light colour either for cloak or clothes, but leave all for yourselfe. . . . Pray enquire about the dipping of lether or cloth to keep out raine; I think I saw it in a print; if it be worth while and cheap, bring a coate of it. Your nephew desires a chesse bord, a foot rule to double in fower; knives and forks, or other knacks not to be had here, you will not forget. I desire you would procure the translation of Glaubers Works, the last edition; also pray do not faile to bring or send about fifty pounds of the most refined saltpeter, and twenty pounds of good tartar free from dust, and about ten pounds of vitriolum album. . . .

Wait Winthrop.

My dear Son, — . . . In this bundle is a leathern wastcoat & breeches, which get lac'd with gold in the handsomest manner, not open or bone lace, but close lace, something open near the head of the lace. Let it be substantial, strong lace. The buttons to be mettal buttons, with eyes of the same, not buttons with wooden molds & catgut loops, which are good

for nothing. They must be gilt with gold & wrought in imitation of buttons made with thread or wire. You must also send me a fine cloth jockey coat of same colour with the wastecoat & breeches, lin'd with a fine shalloon of same colour & trim'd plain, onely a button with same sort of that with the wastecoat, but proportionably bigger. The coat may be made to fit me by the wastecoat. I must also have two pair of fine worsted hose to match this suit, a very good hat, lac'd or not, as may be the fashion, & a sett of silver buckles for shoes & knees, & another sett of pinch-back. I say, let all be good of the sorts, & be sent by first good opportunity. These things may cost £16 or £18, & I will in a few dayes send you a bill for the payment. . . .

Your loving father. J[onathan] B[elcher].  
 Boston, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1740.

Tuesday, June, 10<sup>th</sup>. [1701] Having last night heard that Josiah Willard had cut off his hair (a very full head of hair) and put on a Wigg, I went to him this morning. Told his Mother what I came about, and she call'd him. I enquired of him what Extremity had forced him to put off his own hair, and put on a Wigg? He answered, none at all. But said that his Hair was streight, and that it parted behinde. Seem'd to argue that men might as well shave their hair off their head, as off their face. I answered men were men before they had hair on their faces, (half of mankind have never any). God seems to have ordain'd our Hair as a Test, to see whether we can bring our minds to be content to be at his finding: or whether we would be our own Carvers, Lords, and come no more at him. . . .

Pray'd him to read the Tenth Chapter of the Third book of Calvins Institutions. . . . Told him that it was condemn'd by a Meeting of Ministers at Northampton in Mr. Stoddards house, when the said Josiah was there. . . . He seem'd to say would leave off his Wigg when his hair was grown. I spake to his Father of it a day or two after: He thank'd me that had discoursed his Son, and told me that when his hair was grown to cover his ears, he promis'd to leave off his Wigg. If he had known of it, would have forbidden him. His Mother heard him talk of it; but was afraid positively to forbid him; lest he should do it, and so be more faulty.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

May 25. [1772]. I had my HEDDUS roll on; aunt Storer said it ought to be made less, Aunt Deming said it ought not to be made at all. It makes my head itch, & ach, & burn like anything Mamma. This famous roll is not made *wholly* of a red *Cow Tail*, but is a mixture of that, & horsehair (very course) & a little human hair of yellow hue, that I suppose was taken out of the back part of an old wig. But D— made it (our head) all carded together and twisted up. When it first came home, aunt put it on, & my cap on it, she then took up her apron & mesur'd me, & from the roots of my hair on my forehead to the top of my notions, I mesur'd above an inch longer than I did downwards from the roots of my hair to the end of my chin. Nothing renders a young person more amiable than virtue & modesty without the help of false hair, red *Cow Tail*, or D— (the barber).

— *Anna Green Winslow.*

*The bitter reproach of idle and insolent servants.*

[1636]

To my deare and very loving mother Mrs. Winthrop at Boston these be ðð

Deare Mother, — My humble dutie remembred to you. It reioyceth me to heare of your recoverie out of your dangerous sicknes, and should be glad to heare how your health is continued to you by a letter from your selfe, for I have not heard from you a long time, which troubleth me, though I haue sent you three or foure letters to you. I thought it convenient to acquaint you and my father what a great affliction I haue met withal by my maide servant, and how I am like through God his mercie to be freed from it; at her first coming me she carried her selfe dutifully as became a servant; but since through mine and my husbands forbearance towards her for small faults, she hath got such a head and is growen soe insolent that her carriage towards vs, especially myselfe, is vnsufferable. If I bid her doe a thinge shee will bid me to doe it my selfe, and she sayes how shee can give content as wel as any servant but shee will not, and sayes if I loue not quietnes I was never so fitted in my life, for shee would make me haue enough of it. If I should write to you of all the reviling speeches and filthie language shee hath vsed towards me I should but greiue you. My husband hath vsed all meanes to reforme her, reasons and perswasions, but shee doth professe that her heart and her nature will not suffer her to confesse her faults. If I tell my husband of her behaiour towards me, vpon examination shee will denie all that she hath done or

spoken: so that we know not how to proceede against her: but my husband now hath hired another maide and is resolved to put her away the next weeke.

Thus with my humble dutie to my father I rest  
your dutifull and obedient daughter

Mary Dudley.

[1639]

. . . You write of some yll reports is given of my Wyfe for beateinge the maide: yf a faire waye will not doe yt, beateinge must sometimes vppon such Idlle girrels as she is. Yf you think yt fitte for my Wyfe to do all the work, and the maide sitt still, and she must forbear her hands to strike, then the work will ly vndonn. She hath bin now  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yeares in the house & I do not thinke she hath risen 20 tymes before my Wyfe hath bin vp to Call her, and many tymes light the fire before she comes out of her bed. . . . We can hardly keep her within doors after we are gonn to bed except we carry the kay of the door to bed with vs. She coulde never milke Cow nor Goate since she came hither. Our men do not desire to have her boyl the kittle for them she is so sluttish. She cannot be trusted to serve a few piggs but my Wyfe must commonly be with her. She hath written home I heare that she was fain to ly vppon goates skinns. She might take some goates skinns to ly in her bedd but not given to her for her lodginge. For a yeare & quarter or more she lay with my daughter vppon a good feather bed; before my daughter being lacke 3 or 4 days to Sacco the maid goes into bed with her cloths & stockins & would not take the paines to pluck off her Cloths; her bed after was a doust bedd & shee had 2 Cover-

letts to ly on her, but Sheets she had none, after that tyme she was found to be so sluttish. Her beatinge that she hath had hath never hurt her body nor limes. She is so fat & soggy she can hardly do any worke. Yf this maide at her lazy tymes when she hath bin found in her yll accyons do not deserve 2 or 3 blowes I pray you who hath the most reason to complain my Wyfe or maide. My Wyfe hath an Vnthankefull office. Yt doth not please me well, being she hath taken so much paines and care to order things as well as she could, and ryse in the morning rath & go to bed soe latte, and have hard speeches for yt. . . .

John Wynter.

Brother Partridge, — I have already wrote you by this conveyance, and have now only to add my request of your sending me a good footman p the first opportunity. His passage I will pay here, but must desire you to get him a livery made of a cloth with lace upon it, according to the inclos'd patterns. . . . I must pray you to be very carefull in making choice of this servant, that he be sober, honest, well understanding his business, that can shave & dress a wigg well, and do every thing about a gent<sup>m</sup>, that wou'd go to the same c<sup>hh</sup> with me, — not one bred to the C<sup>hh</sup> of England. . . . My footman that will be out of his time in three months has twenty pounds a year, this money, wages, besides a livery, dyett, &c<sup>a</sup>, which are worth at least £60 a year more. . . . I am, Sir,

Your loving brother. J[onathan] B[elcher].  
Boston, April 25, 1733.

*The yet more serious concern of slavery, in which apparently Governour Belcher sees no conflict of principle and practice.*

*To Oliver Cromwell.*

Boston in N. E., 28<sup>th</sup> of 5<sup>th</sup> 1651.

. . . The Scots, whom God delivered into your hand at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, as soone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty. . . .

John Cotton.

*To Lord Egmont.*

[Boston, Nov. 13, 1739]

. . . I read with a great deal of pleasure the particular account your Lordship gives me of the good reasoning & wise resolutions of your Trustees, & of the generality of the settlers of Georgia, against the introduction of negro (or other) slaves. Indeed, I was alwayes in that way of thinking, that no part of mankind was made to be slaves to their fellow

creatures. We have but few in these parts, and I wish there were less. From every white we may hope for a good man to add to the common wealth. But there is such a natural & general aversion in whites to blacks, that they will never mix nor sodder. Nor do even Christians treat them much better than they do their horses & other cattle. . . .

Jonathan Belcher.

*To Mr. Cuthbert Campbell.*

Sir, — I find an advertisement of yours this day about the sale of a negroe, of whom you say, He is a good cook; can do any sort of work; has had the small pox; *understands chaise & horses very well*; is honest & goodnatur'd. These are all good things. How old is he? Is he sound wind & limb? Is he a single man? What I most of all want him for is to drive my coach, & to take care of the horses. I am no stranger to your integrity & can relye upon it. Let me then have your particular answer as to his goodness & his faults, and if you can put him into my hands as a real good servant, I would buy him, provided I can have him at a reasonable price for ready money; so you will give me an answer by return of the post, because I am offer'd a negroe of this sort in town & would take that I may like best. Sir,

Your friend & servant.

Jonathan Belcher.

Boston, Aug<sup>t</sup> 24, 1741.

*Diverse diseases and the reputed cure thereof.*

For my worthy friend M<sup>r</sup> Wintrop.

*For Madnesse:* Take y<sup>e</sup> herbe Hypericon (: in English S<sup>t</sup> John's Wort) and boile it in Water or drinke, untill it be strong of it, and redd in colour: or else, putt a bundle of it in new drinke to Worke, and give it y<sup>e</sup> patient to drinke, permitting him to drinke nothing else. First purge him well with 2 or 3 seeds (: or more, according to y<sup>e</sup> strength of the partie:) of Spurge. Let them not eat much, but keepe dyet, and you shall see Wondrous effects in fewe dayes. I haue knowne it to cure perfectly to admiration in five dayes. . . .

*For y<sup>e</sup> stopping of y<sup>e</sup> Urine, or y<sup>e</sup> Stone.* Give y<sup>e</sup> partie to drinke of y<sup>e</sup> decoction of maiden hayre, fennel rootes, and parsley rootes. Lett him drinke great quantitie. But before let him drinke 2 or 3 Ounces of y<sup>e</sup> Oyle of Allmonds newly extracted, or more: Or let him swallow a quarter of a pound of new butter made into round bullets, and cast into faire Water to harden them. . . .

*For the yellow Jaundise or Jaunders.* Boyle a quart of sweet milke, dissolve therein as much bay-salt, or fine Sal-peter, as shall make it brackish in taste: and putting Saffron in a fine linnen clout, rubb it into y<sup>e</sup> Milke, untill y<sup>e</sup> Milke be very yellow; and giue it y<sup>e</sup> patient to drinke. . . .

*For paines in y<sup>e</sup> Brest or Limmes:* Weare a Wilde Catts skin on y<sup>e</sup> place grieved. . . .

*For a broken bone, or a Joynt dislocated, to knit them:* Take y<sup>e</sup> barke of Elme, or Witch-hazzle; cutt away the Outward part, & cutt y<sup>e</sup> Inward redd barke

small, and boyle it in Water, till it be thick that it Will rope; pound it very well, and lay of it hott, barke and all upon y<sup>e</sup> Bone or Joynt, and tye it on: or with y<sup>e</sup> Mussilage of it, and bole Armeniack make a playster and lay it on.

*My Black powder against y<sup>e</sup> plague, small pox: purples, all sorts of feavers; Poyson; either by Way of prevention, or after Infection.* In the Moneth of March take Toades, as many as you will, alive; putt them into an Earthern pott, so y<sup>t</sup> it be halfe full; Cover it with a broad tyle or Iron plate; then overwhelme the pott, so y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> bottome may be uppermost; putt charcoales round about it and over it, and in the open ayre, not in an house, sett it on fire and lett it burne out and extinguish of it selfe: When it is cold, take out the toades; and in an Iron-morter pound them very well, and searce them: then in a Crucible calcine them so againe: pound and searce them againe. The first time, they will be a browne powder, the next time black. Of this you may give a dragme in a Vehiculum (or drinke) Inwardly in any Infection taken; and let them sweat upon it in their bedds: but lett them not cover their heads; especially in the Small pox. . . .

The same powder is used playster wise with Vineger for a gangrene, or bite of anie Venemous beast. taking it likewise Inwardly: it is used likewise for all Cankers, Fistulas & old Ulcers & kings Evill, strewing it uppon the sore, and keeping them cleane. . . .

*For the King's evill.* Take 22 Toades & let them fast 2 or 3 dayes that they may spewe out their Earth, then boyle them in a pint of Oyle in a newe pipkin covered so long, till they be brought to a black Coale broken in peeces. presse out the Oyle, from the

said Toades, reserve a 4<sup>th</sup> part, to the other three parts add halfe a pound of yellow wax, shavd small. let the wax melt in the Oyle in w<sup>ch</sup> dippe linnen cloathes, that they may be well covered cerecloathes. with the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the Oyle left, annoynt all the places infected, & then strewe of my black powder of Toades (mentioned before for an Antidot agaynst the Plague) upon the sores or swellings, & then put on y<sup>e</sup> cerecloath. . . .

By this Course ther is no doubt of the cure by Gods assistance. . . .

*Nota bene.* No man can with a good Conscience take a fee or a reward before y<sup>e</sup> partie receive benefit apparent: and then he is not to demand any thing, but what God shall putt into the heart of the partie to give him. And he is not to refuse any thing, that shall be so given him, for it commes from God.

A man is not to neglect that partie, to whom he hath once administred, but to visit him at least once a day, and to medle with no more, then he can well attend. In so doeing he shall discharge a good Conscience before God & Man.

These receipts are all experimented  
London May 6th 1643.

[1694?]

#### FOR COMFORTING THE HEAD & BRAINE.

Take Rosemary & Sage of both sorts of both, w<sup>th</sup> flowers of Rosemary if to be had, & Borage w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> flowers. Infuse in Muscadine or in good Canary 3 dayes, drinke it often.

The fat of a Hedg-hog roasted drop it into the Eare, is an excellent remedy against deafnes.

Also a Clove of Garlick, make holes in it, dip it in Honey, & put it into the Eare at night going to bed, first on one side, then on the other for 8 or 9 dayes together, keeping in y<sup>e</sup> Eares black wooll.

ANOTHER [EXCELLENT REMEDY FOR Y<sup>e</sup> EYES].

Take Fennel, Anniseed & Elicompaine, dry & powder them, mix it with good Nants-brandy, & dry it againe: Every morning & evening eate a pretty quantity it is excellent for y<sup>e</sup> sight.

A MEDICINE TO RECOVER Y<sup>e</sup> COLOUR & COMPLEXION  
WHEN LOST BY SICKNES.

Take two quarts of Rosewater red, take five pounds of clean White Wheat, put it into y<sup>e</sup> Rosewater, Let it Lie till the Wheate hath soaked up all y<sup>e</sup> Liquor, then take the Wheat & beat it in a mortar all to mash.

Nettle Seeds bruised & drank in White Wine is Excellent for the Gravel.

FOR HOARSNES.

Take 3 or 4 figs, cleave them in two, put in a pretty quantity of Ginger in powder, roast them & Eate them often.

FOR THE PALSEY.

Take a pint of good Mustard, dry it in y<sup>e</sup> Oven till it be thick as a pudding, then dry it over a Chafing dish of Coales till it may be beaten to powder mix w<sup>th</sup> it a handfull of powder of Bettony leaves, put some Sugar to it & Eate it every morning.

## FOR THE MEGRUM [MIGRAINE].

Mugwort & Sage a handfull of each, Camomel & Gentian a good quantity, boyle it in Honey, & apply it behind & on both sides y<sup>e</sup> Head very warm, & in 3 or 4 times it will take it quite away.

— *Lawrence Hammond.*

[1694]

. . . If Wait Newman drink the decoction of lignum vitæ two or thre times a day, it might help him; also the herb horehown, shred very small, and warmed a litle in a cup, and then milk from a red cow milked into it and drunk warm, the herb with the milk, morning and evening; which two medicines God was pleased to bless to me the last summer, that I recovered from a consumptive coff in a litle time, almost to a miracle (God be praised). . . .

— *Wait Winthrop, the elder.*

[October 22, 1702]

Behold a strange Thing! On the Night after the Fast, my Consort had appearing to her, (she supposes, in her sleep) a grave Person, who brought with him, a Woman in the most meagre and wretched Circumstances imaginable. My Consort fell into the Praises of God, in that her Condition was not yett so miserably Circumstanced as that woman's now before her. The grave Person then told her, that inasmuch as there were at this Time, a couple of Symptomes become insupportable to her, he would propose a Way, wherein she should obtain some Help for them. First, for her intolerable Pain in her Breast, said he, lett them cutt the warm Wool

from a living Sheep, and apply it warm unto the grieved Pain. Next, for her Salivation, which hitherto nothing had releev'd, said he, take a Tankard of Spring-Water, and therein over the Fire dissolve an agreeable Quantity of Mastic's, and of Gum Icinglass: Drink of this Liquor now and then, to strengthen the Glands, which ought to have been done a great while ago.

She told this on *Friday*, to her principal Physician; who mightily encouraged our trying the Experiments. We did it; and unto our Astonishment, my Consort revived at a most unexpected Rate; insomuch, that she came twice on *Saturday* out of her sick Chamber, unto me in my Study; and there she asked me to give Thanks unto God with her, and for her, on the Account of the Recovery in so surprising a Degree begun unto her.

— *Cotton Mather.*

[Dec. 15, 1716]

I will perswade some of our Physicians to bring the *cold Bath* into fashion; Whereby many poor, sick, miserable People may obtain Releef under various Maladies which now remain otherwise Incurable.

— *Cotton Mather.*

*The sad loss of wits sustained by a learned lady, the cause and the treatment, which, alas, proved of no avail.*

[April 13, 1645]

Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with

him, (a godly young woman, and of special parts,) who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her diverse years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her. He brought her to Boston, and left her with her brother, one Mr. Yale, a merchant, to try what means might be had here for her. But no help could be had.

— *John Winthrop, the elder.*

*To Governour Hopkins.*

[December 28, 1644]

. . . As for my advise about the wife my iudgment in phisike is but smale what experience I have I brought with me out of England. . . . Yet I must tell you that that hot subtell vapor which hath taken possession of her brain is hard to be removed though it may be much helped through gods blessing uppon the event. I wish that she may as much as may be observe a plaine thin and diet: that will make least crudities and so lesse matter for those subtle vapours: let her not use to eate milk except it be turned into thin posset drink and if she will you may soake it with sugar wherein a little saffron

and                    may be mixed viz to every ounce of sugar good 3 grains of saffron made into fine powder and a little scraped                    : and she may use of this eather in posset drink or in warmed bere: by the use of this and other attenuating drink her body will be brought to a sweating temper which I conceive will be a good help to nature: and a good helpe to the operation of other phisik.

And for phisik I shall cheafly advise to the compleat rest of pills if she will be perswaded to take them often and orderly and lastly gentle nosing in the spring of the yeare and in short tyme will open the brain and give some refreshment provided it be don by gentle means: but nosing powder tobacco and the like are to violent: but if lettuce leaves could be had nothing is so good as that. . . .

— *William Pynchon.*

*The coming of the small pox to Boston, its ravages, and persecution of the worthy Dr. Mather who sought, mayhap not so independently as he professed, an alleviation of the dread scourge.*

[November, 1678]

. . . Never was it such a time in Boston. Boston burying-places never filled so fast. It is easy to tell the time wherein we did not use to have the bells tolling for burials on a sabbath day morning by sunrise; to have 7 buried on a sabbath day night, after Meeting. To have coffins crossing each other as they have been carried in the street; — To have, I know not how many corpses following each other close at their heels, — To have 38 dye in one week, —

6, 7, 8 or 9 in a day. Yet thus hath it lately been; and thus it is at this day. Above 340 have died of the Small Pox in Boston since it first assaulted the place. To attempt a Bill of Mortality; and number the very spires of grass in a Burying Place seem to have a parity of difficulty and in accomplishment. . . At first the gradual mercy of God to my father's family was observable & remarkable. First, my Brother Nath gently smitten, and I more gently than hee, and my Sr Sarah yet more gently than I. But the order is broken on my sister Maria, w<sup>o</sup> on the same month & day of the month that my father was visited with the same disease 21 years agoe, was taken very ill; the symptoms grievous and our fears gr<sup>t</sup>. Sometimes lightheaded, but her father prayed down mercy for her and her pox having turned a day or 2 agoe, shee is now so *inter spemque metumque locata*, that *spes* bears down the scales. So that of my fathers Septenary of childr:, 4 have been visited. God fit & prepare for the 3 stroakes that are yet behind.

Sir. Let us not want the help of your prayers for all of us, especially for him who is

Not more your Nephew than desirous to be

Your . . . & servant C[otton] M[ather].

[May 26, 1721]

The grievous Calamity of the *Small-Pox* has now entered the Town. The Practice of conveying and suffering the *Small-pox* by *Inoculation*, has never been used in *America*, nor indeed in our Nation. But how many Lives might be saved by it, if it were practised? I will procure a Consult of our Physicians, and lay the matter before them.

[June 23, 1721]

I write a Letter unto the Physicians, entreating them, to take into consideration the important Affair of preventing the *Small-Pox*, in the way of Inoculation.

[July 16, 1721]

At this Time, I enjoy an unspeakable Consolation. I have instructed our Physicians in the new Method used by the *Africans* and *Asiaticks*, to prevent and abate the Dangers of the Small-Pox, and infallibly to save the Lives of those that have it wisely managed upon them. The Destroyer, being enraged at the Proposal of any Thing, that may rescue the Lives of our poor People from him, has taken a strange Possession of the People on this Occasion. They rave, they rail, they blaspheme; they talk not only like Ideots but also like *Franticks*, And not only the Physician who began the Experiment, but I also am an Object of their Fury; their furious Obloquies and Invectives.

My conformity to my SAVIOUR in this Thing, fills me with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory.

[July 18, 1721]

The cursed Clamour of a People strangely and fiercely possessed of the Devil, will probably prevent my saving the Lives of my two Children, from the Small-pox in the Way of Transplantation.

[August 15, 1721]

My dear *Sammy*, is now under the Operation of receiving the *Small-Pox* in the way of *Transplantation*. The Success of the Experiment among my Neighbours, as well as abroad in the World, and the

urgent Calls of his Grandfather for it, have made me think, that I could not answer it unto God, if I neglected it.

[August 24, 1721]

The Town is become almost an Hell upon Earth, a City full of Lies, and Murders, and Blasphemies, as far as Wishes and Speeches can render it so; Satan seems to take a strange Possession of it, in the epidemic Rage, against that notable and powerful and successful way of saving the Lives of People from the Dangers of the *Small-Pox*. What can I do on this Occasion, to gett the miserable Town dispossessed of the evil Spirit, which has taken such an horrible Possession of it? What besides Prayer with Fasting for it?

[November 19, 1721]

My Kinsman, the Minister of *Roxbury*, being Entertained at my House, that he might there undergo the *Small-Pox Inoculated*, and so Return to the Service of his Flock, which have the Contagion begun among them;

Towards three a Clock in the Night, as it grew towards Morning of this Day, some unknown Hands, threw a fired Granado into the Chamber where my Kinsman lay, and which uses to be my Lodging-Room. The Weight of the Iron Ball alone, had it fallen upon his Head, would have been enough to have done Part of the Business designed. But the *Granado* was charged, the upper part with dried Powder, the lower Part with a Mixture of Oil of Turpentine and Powder and what else I know not, in such a Manner, that upon its going off, it must

have splitt, and have probably killed the Persons in the Room, and certainly fired the Chamber, and speedily laid the House in Ashes. But, *this Night there stood by me the Angel of the GOD, whose I am and whom I serve*; and the merciful Providence of GOD, my SAVIOUR, so ordered it, that the Granado passing thro' the Window, has by the Iron in the Middle of the Casement, such a Turn given to it, that in falling on the Floor, the fired Wild-fire in the Fuse was violently shaken out upon the Floor, without firing the Granado. When the *Granado* was taken up, there was found a Paper so tied with String about the Fuse, that it might out-Live the breaking of the Shell, which had these words in it; COTTON MATHER, *You Dog, Damn you: I'l inoculate you with this, with a Pox to you.*

— *Cotton Mather.*

Boston, May 1st, 1722.

Dear Sir, . . . After nineteen years intermission we received via Saltertudas from Barbadoes the small-pox, middle of April 1721, and by the January following it was nearly over. . . .

. . . Last February an exact scrutiny was made, it was found that Boston consisted of 10,565 souls whereof 6000 have now had the small-pox and of those 899 dyd; about 700 who never had it escaped and a few who remained in the country are free of it.

Having, sometime before the small-pox arrived, lent to a credulous vain preacher Mather, Jr., the Philosophical Transactions No. 339 and 377 which contain Timonius' and Pylermus' accounts of Inoculation from the Levant; that he might have something to send home to the Royal Society who had

long neglected his communications as he complained; he sets inoculation to work in month of June; by 18th of November one hundred were inoculated, and by January in all some few more than 250 in Town and Country. . . . We all knew of nine or ten inoculation deaths besides abortions that could not be concealed, we suspect more who died in the height of the small-pox, it being only known to their nearest relations whether they died of inoculation or in the natural way. . . . But to speak candidly for the present it seems to be somewhat more favorably received by inoculation than received in the natural way. I oppose this novel and dubious practice not being sufficiently assured of its safety and consequences; in short I reckon it a sin against society to propagate infection by this means and bring on my neighbor a distemper which might prove fatal and which perhaps he might escape (as many have done) in the ordinary way, and which he might certainly secure himself against by removal in this Country where it prevails seldom. However many of our clergy have got into it and they scorn to retract; I had them to appease, which occasioned great heats (you may perhaps admire how they reconcile this with their doctrine of predestination). . . . Our People at present are generally averse to it.

Favour me with the nature and cure of that distemper you call "pain in the side" in New-York, as also of your dry Belly-ache; my service to all friends. I am

Your obliged humble servant

Wil. Douglass.

To Cadwallader Colden, New-York.



Of Matrimony: a few Love Letters  
and much Love Making.



Governour John Winthrop *and his amiable consort,*  
Mistress Margaret Winthrop, *greet each other in*  
*love and confidence.*

[1629?]

My deare Husband, — I knowe not how to expresse my love to thee or my desyres of thy wished welfayre, but my hart is well knowne to thee, which will make relation of my affections though they be smalle in apperance: my thoughts are nowe on our great change and alteration of our corce heare, which I beseech the Lord to blesse us in, & my good Husband cheare up thy hart in the expectation of Gods goodnesse to us, & let nothinge dismay or discourage thee; if the Lord be with us who can be against us: my grefe is the feare of stayinge behinde thee, but I must leave all to the good providence of God. I thank the Lord wee are all heare in reasonable good health, I received a letter since you went from my sonne John; w<sup>ch</sup> brout good Nuse from Nue E[ngland]: I pray thanke him for it, I wil rite to him if I have time, & thus with my best respect to thy selfe, brother & sister D: I commit you to God and rest

Your faythfull wife      Margaret Winthrope.

Your servante remembers hir service to you, our sonnes & daughters remember there duty. You shall receive by Smith the caryer a rundelet of syder, the carage is payed, if you like it send for more.

[London, November 12, 1629]

My sweet wife, — I received thy most kinde Lettre, & blessed be o<sup>f</sup> good God that giveth us still cause of reioycinge in the newes of each others well-

fare, & of those w<sup>ch</sup> are deare to us: & blessed be God, who hath given me a wife, who is such a helpe & incouragem<sup>t</sup> to me in this great worke, wherein so many wives are so great a hinderance to theirs: I doubt not but the Lorde will recompence abundantly the faithfullnesse of thy love & obedience, & for my selfe, I shall ever be mindfull of thee, & carefull to requite thee.

1637?]

for Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

My sweet Wife, — I prayse God I am in good health, peace be to thee & o<sup>r</sup> familye, so I kisse thee, & hope shortly to see thee: farewell.

Hasten the sendinge awaye Skarlett, & gatheringe the Turnips.

[1637]

for Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

My sweet Wife, — So fitt an occasiō must not passe w<sup>th</sup>out a token to thee. I prayse God I am well: the Lo: blesse thee & all o<sup>rs</sup>, so I kisse thee the second tyme, farewell.

*The eminent Dr. Wigglesworth commends his cause to the Lord and the widow Avery and awaits an answer from Heaven, likewise from her.*

Mrs. Avery }  
& my very kind friend. }

I heartily salute you in y<sup>e</sup> Lord with many thanks for yo<sup>r</sup> kind entertainment when I was with you March 2<sup>d</sup>. I have made bold once more to visit you

by a few lines in y<sup>e</sup> inclosed paper, not to prevent a personal visit, but rather to make way for it, which I fully intend the beginning of y<sup>e</sup> next week if weather and health Prevent not. . . . Not further to trouble you at this Time, but only to present y<sup>e</sup> inclosed to yo<sup>r</sup> serious thoughts, I commend both it & you to y<sup>e</sup> Lord & wait for an Answer from Heaven in due season, meanwhile I am & shall remain,

Yo<sup>r</sup> True Friend

& wel-wisher,

Michael Wigglesworth.

Maldon March 23, 1691.

I make bold to spread before you these following considerations which Possibly may help to clear up yo<sup>r</sup> way before y<sup>u</sup> return an answer unto y<sup>e</sup> Motion w<sup>ch</sup> I have made to you, I hope you will take them in good Part, and ponder them seriously.

1st. I have a great perswasion that y<sup>e</sup> motion is of God, for diverse Reasons.

At first that I should get a little acquaintance with you by a short & transient visit having been altogether a stranger to you before, and that so little acquaintance should leave such impressions behind it, as neither length of Time, distance of Place, nor any other objects could wear off, but that my thoughts & heart have been toward you ever since. . . .

3ly. In that I have not been led hereunto by fancy (as too many are in like cases) but by sound Reason & judgment, Principally Loving and desiring you for those gifts & graces God hath bestowed upon you, and Propounding y<sup>e</sup> Glory of God, the adorning and furtherance of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel. The spiritual as wel as outward good of myself and family, together w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup>

good of yo'self & children, as my Ends inducing me hereunto . . . .

6ly. Consider, if you should continue where you are whither y<sup>e</sup> looking after & managing of yo<sup>r</sup> outward Business & affairs may not be too hard for you, and hazzard your health again? . . .

10ly. As my Late wife was a means under God of my recovering a better State of Health; so who knows but God may make you instrumental to Preserve & Prolong my health & life to do him service. . . .

And for y<sup>e</sup> other objection from y<sup>e</sup> number of my children & difficulty of guiding such a family. 1st. the Number may be lessened if ther be need of it. . . .

*The Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather records in his diary an astonishing trial; and although the records be but sparse, yet those cunning in the affairs of the heart may read herein a romance as stirring as many that employ the profane pen.*

February [1703] begins with a very astonishing Trial.

There is a young Gentlewoman of incomparable Accomplishments. No Gentlewoman in the English *America* has had a more polite Education. She is one of rare Witt and Sense; and of a comely Aspect; and extremely Winning in her Conversation, and she has a Mother of an extraordinary Character for her Piety.

This young Gentlewoman first Addresses me with diverse Letters, and then makes me a Visit at my House; wherein she gives me to understand, that

she has long had a more than ordinary Value for my Ministry; and that since my present Condition \* has given her more of Liberty to think of me, she must confess herself charmed with my Person, to such a Degree, that she could not but break in upon me, with her most importunate Requests, that I would make her mine; and that the highest Consideration she had in it, was her eternal Salvation, for if she were mine, she could not but hope the Effect of it would be, that she should also be Christ's.

I endeavoured faithfully to sett before her, all the discouraging Circumstances attending me, that I could think of. She told me, that she had weigh'd all those Discouragements, but was fortified and resolved with a strong Faith in the mighty God, for to encounter them all. . . .

I was in a great Strait, how to treat so polite a Gentlewoman, thus applying herself unto me. I plainly told her, that I feared, whether her Proposal would not meet with unsurmountable Oppositions from those who had a great Interest in disposing of me. . . .

In the mean Time, if I could not make her my own, I should be glad of being any way Instrumental, to make her the Lord's.

I turned my Discourse, and my Design into that Channel; and with as exquisite Artifice as I could use, I made my Essayes to engage her young Soul into Piety.

She is not much more than twenty years old. I know she has been a very aiery Person. Her Reputation has been under some Disadvantage.

\* Mrs. Mather died December 1, 1702.

What Snares may be laying for me, I know not. Much Prayer with Fasting and Patience, must be my way to encounter them.

[February 12, 1703]

The well accomplished Gentlewoman, mention'd, (tho' not by Name,) . . . one whome every body does with Admiration confess to be, for her charming Accomplishments, an incomparable Person; addressing me to make her mine; and professing a Disposition unto the most Holy Flights of Religion to ly at the Bottom of her Addresses: I am in the greatest Straits imaginable, what Course to steer. Nature itself causes in me, a mighty Tenderness for a person so very amiable. Breeding requires me to treat her with Honour and Respect, and very much of Deference, to all that she shall at any time ask of me. . . .

[Feb. 18, 1703]

As for my special soul-harrassing Point; I did some Dayes ago, under my Hand, vehemently beg, as for my Life, that it might be desisted from, and that I might not be kill'd by hearing any more of it. Yett such was my flexible Tenderness, as to be conquered by the Importunities of several, to allow some further Interviews. But I resolved, that I would make them turn chiefly upon the most glorious Design in the World. I did, accordingly; and once especially, I did, with all the Charms I could imagine, draw that witty Gentlewoman unto tearful Expressions of her Consent, unto all the Articles in the Covenant of Grace, the Articles of her Marriage and Union with the Great L[ord] Redeemer. I had Abundance

of Satisfaction in this Action; whatever may be the Issue of our Conversation.

[March 6, 1703]

That young Gentlewoman of so fine Accomplishments, (that there is none in this Land in those Respects comparable to her), who has with such repeated Importunity and Ingenuity pressed my Respects to her, that I have had much ado to steer clear of great Inconveniences, hath by the Disadvantages of the Company which has continually resorted unto her unhappy Father's House, gott but a bad Name among the Generality of the People; and there appears no Possibility of her speedy Recovery of it, be her Carriage never so vertuous, and her Conversation never so notorious. By an unhappy Coincidence of some Circumstances, there is a Noise, and a mighty Noise it is, made about the Town, that I am engaged in a Courtship to that young Gentlewoman; and tho' I am so very innocent, (and have so much aimed at a Conformity to my Lord Jesus Christ, and Serviceableness to Him, in my treating of her,) yett it is not easy presently to confute the Rumour. . . .

But then, Satan has raised an horrid Storm of Reproach upon me, both for my Earliness in courting a Gentlewoman, and especially for my Courting of a Person whom they generally apprehend so disagreeable to my Character. And there is Hazard, lest my Usefulness be horribly Ruined, by the Clamour of the rash People on this Occasion, before there can be due Measures taken to quiet them; and my Civility to the Person who has address'd me, will not lett me utter what would most effectually quiet them. . . .

My Spirit is excessively broken. There is Danger of my dying suddenly, with smothered Griefs and Fears.

[March 13, 1703]

And now, being after all due Deliberation, fully satisfied, that my Countenancing the Proposals of coming one Day to a Marriage, with the Gentlewoman so often mentioned in these Papers, will not be consistent with my public Serviceableness; but that the Prejudices in the Minds of the People of God against it, are insuperable, and little short of universal: I sett myself to make unto the L[ord] Jesus Christ, a Sacrifice of a Person, who, for many charming Accomplishments, has not many æquals in the *English America*. . . .

I struck my Knife into the Heart of my Sacrifice, by a Letter to her Mother.

[May 19, 1703]

In my Absence the young Gentlewoman, to whom I have been so unkind many Weeks or Months ago, writes and comes to my Father, and brings her good Mother with her and charms the Neighbours into her Interests; and renews her Importunities (both before and after my Journey) that I would make her mine. My Apprehension of Damage to arise therefrom unto the holy Interests of Religion, fixes me still in an unalterable Resolution, that I must never hearken to her Proposals, whatever may be the Consequence of my being so resolved. I am hereupon threatened by some with exquisite Revenges and Reproaches from her defeated Love; and the Hazards of her coming to Mischief.

[June 4, 1703]

A lying Spirit is gone forth, and the People of the Town, are strangely under the Influences of it.

I have the Inconvenience of being a Person, whom the Eye and the Talk of the People is very much upon. My present Circumstances give them Opportunities to invent and report Abundance of disadvantageous Falsehoods, of my being engaged in such and such Courtships, wherein I am really unconcerned. But the Addresses which I have had from the young Gentlewoman so often mentioned in these Papers, and the Discourses thereby raised among the dissatisfied People, afford the greatest Theme for their mischievous and malicious Lying to turn upon. . . . God strangely appears for me, in this Point also, by disposing the young Gentlewoman, with her Mother, to furnish me with their Assertions, *That I have never done any unworthy Thing; but acted most honourably and righteously toward them, and as became a Christian, and a Minister; and they will give all the World leave to censure them after the hardest Manner in the World, if ever they should speak the Contrary;* Yea, they have proceeded so far beyond all Bounds in my Vindication, as to say, *They verily look upon Mr. M—r to be as great a Saint of God, as any upon Earth.* Nevertheless, the Devil owes me a Spite, and he inspires his People in this Town, to whisper impertinent Stories, which have a Tendency to make me Contemptible, and hurt my Serviceableness, and strike at, yea, strike out the Apple of my Eye.

[July 10, 1703]

He [God] shoves me a Gentlewoman within two Houses of my own; a Gentlewoman of Piety and

Probity, and a most unspotted Reputation; a Gentlewoman of good Witt and Sense, and discretion at ordering an Household; a Gentlewoman of incomparable Sweetness in her Temper, and Humour; a Gentlewoman honourably descended and related; and a very comely Person. Her Name is Mrs. ELIZABETH HUBBARD. She is the Daughter of Dr. *John Clark*, deceased. She was married, and quickly left a Widow about four years ago, and is now near thirty Years of Age. . . .

I am satisfied, if the Spirit of my departed Consort now in the Kingdome of God, were avized, that her children were falling into the Hands of this Gentlewoman, it would be a Consolation unto her. . . .

Finding my Spirit much disposed unto it, (and being hastened by a Coincidence of many uneasy Circumstances,) I did

On 14 d. 5m. [July] *Wednesday*, give my first Visit, unto that lovely Gentlewoman. I was entertained with more than ordinary Civility, Affection, and Veneration. And I found her to be an abundantly more agreeable Person, than ever I imagined. I see, shee will be a great Gift of Heaven unto me, and astonishing Reparation of my Loss, and Compensation of all the Grief I have mett withal. If I may live to see her illuminating my Family, I shall reap a rich Harvest of the Prayers, the Tears, the Fasts, and the Resignations, with which I have been so long addressing Heaven, under the deplorable Circumstances, of about fifteen Months together.

[July 17, 1703]

The Rage of that young Gentlewoman, whom out of obedience to God, I have rejected, (and never

more pleased God than in rejecting of her Addresses to me,) is transporting her; to threaten that she will be a Thorn in my Side, and contrive all possible Wayes to vex me, affront me, disgrace me, in my Attempting a Return to the married State with another Gentlewoman. . . .

My Conversation with the lovely Person, to whom Heaven has directed me, goes on, with pure, chaste, noble Strokes, and the Smiles of God upon it.

And the Universal Satisfaction which it has given to the People of God, thro' town and Countrey, proclames itself, to a Degree which perfectly amazes me.

[Aug. 18, 1703]

THIS is the Day, the joyful Day, wherein my glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST brings me, to the rich Harvest of my Prayers, my Tears, my Resignations. I am in the Evening of this Day, to receive a most lovely Creature, and such a Gift of Heaven unto me, and mine, that the Sense therof almost as often as I ponder thereon, dissolves me into Tears of Joy.

I resolved, that I would spend the Day in Heaven, if the Lord would please to open unto me His Heaven. I spent the whole Day in my Study, devoting it as a solemn THANKSGIVING unto the Lord. . . .

In the Evening, my Father married me, unto a Wife, in finding of whom, I have to my Astonishment found Favour of the Lord. . . .

On *August 24. Tuesday*. I brought my lovely Consort home; and made an agreeable Entertainment at my House, for the Relatives of both.

Judge Samuel Sewall *pays court to widows of discreet age and assured fortune, with varying degrees of favor and no inconsiderable expenditure, and at last achieves for the third time a happy entrance into the honorable estate of matrimony.*

May, 26. [1720] About midnight my dear wife expired to our great astonishment, especially mine. May the Sovereign Lord pardon my Sin, and Sanctify to me this very Extraordinary, awfull Dispensation.

May, 29. God having in his holy Sovereignty put my Wife out of the Fore-Seat, I apprehended I had Cause to be ashamed of my Sin, and to loath my self for it; and retired into my Pue. . . . I put up a Note to this purpose; Samuel Sewall, depriv'd of his Wife by a very sudden and awfull Stroke, desires Prayers that God would sanctify the same to himself, and Children, and family. Writ and sent three; to the South, Old, and Mr. Colman's [church].

Sept. 5. . . . Going to Son Sewall's I there meet with Madam Winthrop, told her I was glad to meet her there, had not seen her a great while; gave her Mr. Homes's Sermon.

8<sup>r</sup>. 1. Satterday, I dine at Mr. Stoddard's: from thence I went to Madam Winthrop's just at 3. Spake to her, saying, my loving wife died so soon and suddenly, 'twas hardly convenient for me to think of Marrying again; however I came to this Resolution; that I would not make my Court to any person without first Consulting with her.

Octob<sup>r</sup>. 3. 2. Waited on Madam Winthrop again. . . . At last I pray'd that Katharine [Madam Winthrop] might be the person assign'd for me. She instantly took it up in the way of Denyal, as if she had catch'd at an Opportunity to do it, saying she could not do it before she was ask'd. Said that was her mind unless she should Change it, which she believed she should not; could not leave her Children. I express'd my sorrow that she should do it so Speedily, pray'd her Consideration; and ask'd her when I should wait on her agen. She setting no time, I mention'd that day Sennight. . . .

8<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>. . . . A little after 6.p.m. I went to Madam Winthrop's. . . . Madam seem'd to harp upon the same string. Must take care of her Children; could not leave that House and Neighbourhood where she had dwelt so long. I told her she might doe her children as much or more good by bestowing what she laid out in Hous-keeping, upon them. . . . I gave her a piece of Mr. Belcher's Cake and Ginger-Bread wrapped up in a clean sheet of Paper; told her of her Father's kindness to me when Treasurer, and I Constable. My Daughter Judith was gon from me and I was more lonesom — might help to forward one another in our Journey to Canaan. . . .

8<sup>r</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>. . . . In the Evening I visited Madam Winthrop, who treated me with a great deal of Curtesy; Wine, Marmalade. I gave her a News-Letter about the Thanksgiving. . . .

8<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. I writ a few Lines to Madam Winthrop to this purpose: "Madam, These wait on you with Mr.

Mayhew's Sermon; and Account of the state of the Indians on Martha's Vinyard. I thank you for your Unmerited Favours of yesterday; and hope to have the Hapiness of Waiting on you to-morrow before Eight a-clock after Noon. I pray God to keep you, and give you a joyfull entrance upon the Two Hundred and twenty ninth year of Christopher Columbus his Discovery; and take Leave, who am, Madam, your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

S. S.

8<sup>r</sup>. 12. . . . Mrs. Anne Cotton came to door (twas before 8.) said Madam Winthrop was within, directed me into the little Room, where she was full of work behind a Stand; Mrs. Cotton came in and stood. Madam Winthrop pointed to her to set me a Chair. Madam Winthrop's Countenance was much changed from what 'twas on Monday, look'd dark and lowering. At last, the work, (black stuff or Silk) was taken away, I got my Chair in place, had some Converse, but very Cold and indifferent to what 'twas before. Ask'd her to acquit me of Rudeness if I drew off her Glove. Enquiring the reason, I told her twas great odds between handling a dead Goat, and a living Lady. Got it off. I told her I had one Petition to ask of her, that was, that she would take off the Negative she laid on me the third of October; She readily answer'd she could not, and enlarg'd upon it. . . . She thank'd me for my Book (Mr. Mayhew's Sermon), But said not a word of the Letter. When she insisted on the Negative, I pray'd there might be no more Thunder and Lightning, I should not sleep all night. I gave her Dr. Preston, The Church's Marriage and the Church's

Carriage, which cost me 6<sup>s</sup> at the Sale. . . . Told her the reason why I came every other night was lest I should drink too deep draughts of Pleasure. She had talk'd of Canary, her Kisses were to me better than the best Canary. Explain'd the expression Concerning Columbus.

8<sup>r</sup>. 17. Monday. . . . In the Evening, I visited Madam Winthrop, who Treated me Courteously, but not in Clean Linen as sometimes. . . .

8<sup>r</sup>. 19. Midweek, Visited Madam Winthrop; Sarah told me she was at Mr. Walley's, would not come home till late. . . . I went and found her there, with Mr. Walley and his wife in the little Room below. At 7 a-clock I mentioned going home; at 8. I put on my Coat, and quickly waited on her home. . . . Was Courteous to me; but took occasion to speak pretty earnestly about my keeping a Coach: I said 'twould cost £100. per añum: she said twould cost but £40. . . . Came away somewhat late.

8<sup>r</sup>. 20. . . . At Council, Col. Townsend spake to me of my Hood: Should get a Wigg. I said twas my chief ornament. . . . Promis'd to wait on the Gov<sup>r</sup> about 7. Madam Winthrop not being at Lecture, I went thither first; found her very Serene with her dâter Noyes, Mrs. Dering, and the widow Shipreev sitting at a little Table, she in her arm'd Chair. She drank to me, and I to Mrs. Noyes. After awhile pray'd the favour to speak with her. She took one of the Candles, and went into the best Room, clos'd the shutters, sat down upon the Couch. She told me Madam Usher had been there, and said the

Coach must be set on Wheels, and not by Rusting. She spake something of my needing a Wigg. . . . Said, I shall keep you in the Cold, and asked her if she would be within to morrow night, for we had had but a running Feat. She said she could not tell whether she should, or no. I took Leave.

8<sup>r</sup>. 21. Friday, My Son, the Minister, came to me p. m. by appointment and we pray one for another in the Old Chamber; more especially respecting my Courtship. About 6. a-clock I go to Madam Winthrop's; Sarah told me her Mistress was gon out, but did not tell me whither she went. She presently order'd me a Fire; so I went in, having Dr. Sibb's Bowels\* with me to read. I read the two first Sermons, still no body came in: at last about 9. a-clock Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup> Eyre came in. . . . When twas after 9. a-clock He of himself said he would go and call her, she was but at one of his Brothers: A while after I heard Madam Winthrop's voice, enquiring somthing about John. After a good while and Clāping the Garden door twice or thrice, she came in. I mention'd somthing of the lateness; she banter'd me, and said I was later. She receiv'd me Courteously. I ask'd when our proceedings should be made publick: She said They were like to be no more publick than they were already. Offer'd me no Wine that I remember. I rose up at 11 a-clock to come away, saying I would put on my Coat. She offer'd not to help me. I pray'd her that Juno might light me home, she open'd the Shutter, and said twas pretty light

\* "Bowels opened; or, a Discovery of the Union betwixt Christ and the Church."

abroad; Juno was weary and gone to bed. So I came hōm by Star-light as well as I could. . . .

Octob<sup>r</sup>. 24. I went in the Hackny Coach through the Cōmon, stop'd at Madam Winthrop's. . . . I told her . . . I was come to enquire whether she could find in her heart to leave that House and Neighbourhood, and go and dwell with me at the South-end; I think she said softly, Not yet. I told her It did not ly in my Lands to keep a Coach. If I should, I should be in danger to be brought to keep company with her Neighbour Brooker, (he was a little before sent to prison for Debt). Told her I had an Antipathy against those who would pretend to give themselves; but nothing of their Estate. I would a proportion of my Estate with my self. And I supōse'd she would do so. As to a Perriwig, My best and greatest Friend, I could not possibly have a greater, began to find me with Hair before I was born; and had continued to do so ever since; and I could not find in my heart to go to another.

Nov<sup>r</sup>. 2. Midweek, went again. . . . Gave her about  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound of Sugar Almonds, cost 3s per £. Carried them on Monday. She seem'd pleas'd with them, ask'd what they cost. Spake of giving her a Hundred pounds per anum if I dy'd before her. Ask'd what sum she would give me, if she should Dy first! Said I would give her time to Consider of it. . . .

Nov<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>. Friday, Went again about 7. a-clock; found there Mr. John Walley and his wife: sat discoursing pleasantly. . . . Madam serv'd Comfeits

to us. After a-while a Table was spread, and Sup̄er was set, I urg'd Mr. Walley to Crave a Blessing; but he put it upon me. About 9. they went away. I ask'd Madam what fashioned Neck-lace I should present her with, She said, None at all. I ask'd her Whereabout we left off last time; mention'd what I had offer'd to give her; Ask'd her what she would give me: She said she could not Change her Condition. . . . If she held in that mind, I must go home and bewail my Rashness in making more haste than good Speed. However, considering the Sup̄er, I desir'd her to be within next Monday night, if we liv'd so long. Assented. . . . About 10. I said I would not disturb the good orders of her House, and came away. She not seeming pleas'd with my Coming away. . . .

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>. . . . I went to Mad. Winthrop; found her rocking her little Katee in the Cradle. I excus'd my Coming so late (near Eight). She set me an arm'd Chair and Cusheon; and so the Cradle was between her arm'd Chair and mine. Gave her the remnant of my Almonds; She did not eat of them as before; but laid them away; I said I came to enquire whether she had alter'd her mind since Friday, or remained of the same mind still. She said, Therabouts. I told her I loved her and was so fond as to think that she loved me: She said had a great respect for me. . . . She gave me a Glass of Wine. I think I repeated again that I would go home and bewail my Rashness in making more haste than good Speed. I would endeavour to contain myself, and not go on to solicit her to do that which she could not Consent to. Took leave of her. As

came down the steps she bid me have a Care. Treated me Courteously. . . . I did not bid her draw off her Glove as sometime I had done. Her Dress was not so clean as sometime it had been. Jehovah jireh!

Nov<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. Went not to M<sup>m</sup>. Winthrop's. This is the 2<sup>d</sup> Withdraw.

Satterday, July, 15. 1721. . . . Call, and sit awhile with Madam Ruggles. . . . I shew'd my Willingness to renew my old acquaintance; She express'd her inability to be Serviceable. Gave me Cider to drink. I came home.

Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup>. 3. [1721.] Went in the Coach and visited Mrs. Ruggles after Lecture. She seems resolv'd not to move out of that house. May be of some use there; None at Boston — till she be carried out; made some Difficulty to accept an Election Sermon, lest it should be an obligation on her. . . .

Copy of a Letter to Mrs. Mary Gibbs, Widow, at Newtown, Jan<sup>y</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>. 17<sup>21</sup> $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Madam, your Removal out of Town; and the Severity of the Winter, are the reason of my making you this Epistolary Visit. In times past (as I remember) you were minded that I should marry you, by giving you to your desirable Bridegroom. Some sense of this intended Respect abides with me still; and puts me upon enquiring whether you be willing that I should Marry you now, by becoming your Husband; Aged, and feeble, and exhausted as I am, your favourable Answer to this Enquiry, in a few

Lines, the Candor of it will much oblige, Madam,  
your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Madam Gibbs.

S. S.

Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup>. 19. I rode in Blake's Coach, and visited Mrs. Mary Gibbs at Mr. Cotton's at Newton, told her that in my Judgment she writ incomparably well; ask'd her acceptance of a Quire of Paper to write upon. It was accompanied with a good Leather Inkhorn, a stick of Sealing Wax, and 200. Wafers in a little Box. . . .

Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup>. 26. I rode to Newtown in the Coach, and visited Mrs. Gibbs. Spake of the proposals I had intimated per Mr. H. Gibbs; for her Sons to be bound to save me harmless as to her Administration; and to pay me £100. provided their Mother died before me: I to pay her £50. per añum during her Life, if I left her a Widow. She said: 'twas hard, she knew not how to have her children bound to pay that Sum; she might dye in a little time. . . . She said she would consider of it: I said, I would also Consider. . . . Carried her a pound of Glaz'd Almonds, and a Duz. Meers Cakes, Two bottles of Canary. . . . Had a very good Legg of Pork, and a Turkey for Diñer. Mrs. Gibbs help'd me on with my Coat at Coming away, and stood in the Front door till the Coach mov'd, then I pull'd off my Hat, and she Curtesied. . . .

Feb. 2. . . . I took the Opportunity to speak plainly to him [Daniel Oliver] about Mrs. Gibbs. . . . Told, I hoped she was not so Attach'd to her Children, but that she would carry it Tenderly to me; or

else there would soon be an end of an old Man. I said, supōs'd they would Clothe her, Answered, no question; And would be Tender of me. . . .

Febr. 12. Mrs. Gibbs Came to Town; which her Son Henry told me of.

14<sup>th</sup>. return'd. I went to Col. Checkly, and enter'd our Names. Went to Mr. Williams, and ask'd his License to call him Brother; Was entertain'd Courteously. Went to James, and order'd our Publishment. . . .

Febr. 15. were publish'd the first time; were more to hear it than usual.

To Mrs. Mary Gibbs at Newton, Feb. 16. 17 $\frac{3}{2}$  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Madam, Possibly you have heard of our Publishment last Thorsday, before now. It remains, for us to join together in fervent Prayers, without ceasing, that God would graciously Crown our Espousals with his Blessing. A good Wife, and a good Husband too, are from the Lord. I am bound as far as Deacon Brewer's to-day. The Council sits in the Afternoon next Monday. And I am to wait on the Committee of the Overseers of the College next Tuesday the 20<sup>th</sup>. Inst. Please to accept of Mr. Mitchel's Sermons of Glory, which is inclosed. With my Service to Madam Cotton, I take leave, who am, Madam, your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

S. S.

Feb. 24. . . . Visited Mrs. Gibbs, gave her an Orange.

March, 29th. Samuel Sewall, and Mrs. Mary Gibbs were joined together in Marriage by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Sewall pray'd once. . . .

Lord's day, April, 1. Sat with my wife in her Pue.

April, 2. Brought her home to my House.

April, 8. introduc'd her into my Pue, and sat with her there.

Of the Training and Education of Youth, both  
around the family Altar and in Institutions of  
Learning, with particular mention of  
those two notable Nurseries of  
the Church, the Colleges  
at Cambridge and  
New Haven.



*The intellectual and spiritual experiences of several young Sewalls and Mathers, most of them recorded by their fathers; in which records are observable a lamentable lack of humor and a commendable sense of responsibility.*

Nov. 6. [1692] Joseph threw a knop of Brass and hit his Sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell; upon which, and for his playing at Prayer-time, and eating when Return Thanks, I whipt him pretty smartly. When I first went in (call'd by his Grandmother) he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the Cradle: which gave me the sorrowfull remembrance of Adam's carriage.

Jan. 11. 169<sup>5</sup>. . . . When I came in, past 7. at night, my wife met me in the Entry and told me Betty \* had surprised them. I was surprised with the abruptness of the Relation. It seems Betty Sewall had given some signs of dejection and sorrow; but a little after diñer she burst out into an amazing cry, which caus'd all the family to cry too; Her Mother ask'd the reason; she gave none; at last said she was afraid she should goe to Hell, her Sins were not pardon'd. She was first wounded by my reading a Sermon of Mr. Norton's, about the 5<sup>th</sup> of Jan. Text Jn<sup>o</sup> 7. 34. Ye shall seek me and shall not find me. And those words in the sermon, Jn<sup>o</sup> 8. 21. Ye shall seek me and shall die in your sins, ran in her

\* Betty Sewall was then about fourteen years of age.

mind, and terrified her greatly. And staying at home Jan. 12. she read out of Mr. Cotton Mather — Why hath Satan filled thy heart, which increas'd her Fear. Her Mother ask'd her whether she pray'd. She answer'd, Yes; but feared her prayers were not heard because her Sins not pardon'd.

Feb. 22. 169<sup>5</sup>. Betty comes into me almost as soon as I was up and tells me the disquiet she had when waked; told me she was afraid she should go to Hell, was like Spira, not Elected. Ask'd her what I should pray for, she said, that God would pardon her Sin and give her a new heart. I answer'd her Fears as well as I could, and pray'd with many Tears on either part; hope God heard us. I gave her solemnly to God.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

. . . When very *Young* I went astray from God, and my mind was altogether taken with *Vanities* and *Follies*; such as the remembrance of them doth greatly abase my Soul within me. Of the manifold Sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me, as that being very young, I was *whitling on the Sabbath-day*; and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door. A great Reproach of God! A Specimen of that *Atheism* that I brought into the World with me! . . .

— *Nathanael Mather.*

[November 7: 1697]

I took my little Daughter, *Katy* \* into my Study; and there I told my Child, that I am to *dy* shortly,

\* *Katy* Mather was then between eight and nine years of age.

and shee must, when I am *Dead*, Remember every Thing, that I said unto her.

I sett before her, the sinful and woful Condition of her *Nature*, and I charg'd her, *to pray in secret Places*, every Day, without ceasing, that God for the Sake of Jesus Christ would give her a *New Heart*, and *pardon* Her Sins, and make her a *Servant* of His. . . .

I signified unto her, That the People of God, would much observe how shee carried herself, and that I had written a Book, about *Ungodly Children*, in the Conclusion whereof I say, that this Book will bee a terrible Witness against my own Children, if any of them should not bee *Godly*.

At length, with many Tears, both on my Part, and hers, I told my Child, that God had from Heaven assured mee, and the good Angels of God had satisfied mee, *that shee shall bee brought Home unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and bee one of His forever*. . . .

I thereupon made the Child kneel down by mee; and I poured out my Cries unto the Lord, that Hee would lay His Hands upon her, and bless her and save her, and make her a *Temple* of His Glory. It will bee so; It will bee so!

[February 6, 1706]

#### SOME SPECIAL POINTS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF MY CHILDREN

I pour out continual Prayers and Cries to the God of all Grace for them. . . .

And in this Action, I mention them distinctly, every one by Name unto the Lord.

I begin betimes to entertain them with delightful Stories, especially *scriptural* ones. And still conclude

with some *Lesson* of Piety; bidding them to learn that *Lesson* from the *Story*.

And thus, every Day at the *Table*, I have used myself to tell a *Story* before I rise; and make the *Story* useful to the *Olive Plants about the Table*. . . .

I first begett in them an high Opinion of their Father's Love to them, and of his being best able to judge, what shall be good for them.

Then I make them sensible, tis a Folly for them to pretend unto any Witt and Will of their own; they must resign all to me, who will be sure to do what is best; my word must be their Law. . . .

I would never come, to give a child a *Blow*; except in Case of *Obstinacy*; or some gross Enormity.

To be chased for a while out of my *Presence*, I would make to be look'd upon, as the sorest Punishment in the Family.

. . . I am not fond of proposing *Play* to them, as a Reward of any diligent Application to learn what is good; lest they should think *Diversion* to be a better and a nobler Thing than *Diligence*.

I would have them come to propound and expect, at this rate, *I have done well, and now I will go to my Father; he will teach me some curious Thing for it*. I must have them count it a *Priviledge*, to be taught; and I sometimes manage the matter so, that my Refusing to teach them Something, is their *Punishment*.

The *slavish* way of *Education*, carried on with raving and kicking and scourging (in *Schools* as well as *Families*,) tis abominable; and a dreadful Judgment of God upon the World. . . .

When the Children are capable of it, I take them *alone*, one by one; and after my Charges unto them,

to fear God, and serve Christ, and shun Sin, *I pray with them* in my Study and make them the Witnesses of the Agonies, with which I address the Throne of Grace on their behalf.

[March 18, 1711]

To accomplish my little Daughters for House-keeping, I would have them, at least once a week, to prepare some new Thing, either for Diet, or Medicine; which I may show them described, in some such Treatise as the *Family Dictionary*. And when it is prepared, I will also make some Remarks of Piety, in a way of occasional Reflection upon it.

[September 23, 1711]

It is Time for me to fix my three elder Daughters, in the opifical and beneficial Mysteries, wherein they should be well-instructed; that they may do good unto others; and if they should be reduced into Necessities, unto themselves also.

For *Katy*, I determined, Knowledge in Physic, and the Preparation, and the Dispensation of noble Medicines.

For *Nibby*, and *Nancy*, I will consult their Inclinations.

[January 20, 1712]

It may be many Wayes for the Advantage of my Daughters, to have them well instructed in *Shorthand*. I would therefore apply myself unto this part of their Education.

[September 6, 1713]

My youngest little Daughter is a marvellous witty, ready, forward Child; I would oblige every Child in the Family, to teach her each of them Sentences of

Piety, that so she may betimes and apace have her mind filled with Maxims of Piety.

[November 22, 1713]

Our Diet at the Table, shall be mightily handsomely and usefully carried on. There shall be the Rules of Behaviour nicely given and used there. And some instructive Subject, alwayes be discoursed on.

[June 26, 1716]

I must think of some exquisite and obliging Wayes, to abate *Sammy's* \* inordinate Love of Play. His play wounds his Faculties. I must engage him in some nobler Entertainments.

[June 1, 1717]

What shall be done, for the raising of *Sammy's* Mind, above the debasing Meannesses of Play!

[September 3, 1717]

Entertain *Sammy* betimes, with the first Rudiments of Geography and Astronomy, as well as History; and so raise his Mind above the sillier Diversions of Childhood.

[September 24, 1717]

Heap a great Library on my little *Samuel*.

[January 14, 1718]

*Sammy* is united with a Society of sober and pious Lads, who meet for Exercises of Religion. I will allow them the Use of my Library, for the Place of their Meeting; and give them Directions, and Entertainments.

— *Cotton Mather*.

\* *Sammy* Mather was then between ten and eleven years of age.

*A diversity of directions and aspirations addressed by  
the Reverend Benjamin Colman to his daughter  
Jane, aged nine.*

Boston, Aug. 4th, 1718.

My dear Child,

I have this Morning your Letter, which pleases me very well, and gives me hopes of many a pleasant Line from you in Time to come; if God spare you to me, and me to you.

I very much long to see your Mother, but doubt whether the Weather will permit me to Day. I pray God to bless you, and make you one of his Children. I charge you to pray daily, and read your Bible, and fear to sin. Be very dutiful to your Mother, and respectful to every Body. . . . Be very humble and modest, womanly and discreet. Take care of your Health, and as you love me do not eat green Apples. Drink sparingly of the Waters except the Day be warm. When I last saw you you were too shame-fac'd; Look People in the Face, speak freely and behave decently. . . .

Miss Mary Edwards, *being far removed from home and kindred, is solemnly adjured to mind her latter end by her reverend father, Mr. Jonathan Edwards.*

To Miss Mary Edwards, at Portsmouth.

Northampton, July 26, 1749.

My dear Child,

You may well think it is natural for a parent, to be concerned for a child at so great a distance, so

far out of view, and so far out of the reach of communication; where, if you should be taken with any dangerous sickness, that should issue in death, you might probably be in your grave, before we could hear of your danger. But yet, my greatest concern is not for your health, or temporal welfare, but for the good of your soul. Though you are at so great a distance from us, yet God is every where. You are much out of the reach of our care, but you are every moment in His hands. We have not the comfort of seeing you, but He sees you. His eye is always upon you. And if you may but live sensibly near to God, and have his gracious presence, it is no matter if you are far distant from us. I had rather you should remain hundreds of miles distant from us, and have God near to you by His Spirit, than to have you always with us, and live at a distance from God. And if the next news we should hear of you, should be of your death; though that would be very melancholy, yet, if at the same time we should receive such intelligence concerning you, as should give us the best grounds to hope, that you had died in the Lord; how much more comfortable would this be, though we should have no opportunity to see you or to take our leave of you in your sickness, than if we should be with you during all its progress, and have much opportunity to attend upon you, and converse and pray with you, and take an affectionate leave of you, and after all have reason to apprehend, that you died without the grace and favour of God! . . .

I hope that you will maintain a strict and constant watch over yourself, against all temptations, that you do not forsake and forget God, and particularly, that you do not grow slack in secret religion. Retire

often from this vain world, from all its bubbles and empty shadows, and vain amusements, and converse with God alone; and seek effectually for that Divine grace and comfort, the least drop of which is worth more than all the riches, gaiety, pleasures and entertainments of the whole world. . . .

We are all, through the Divine goodness, in a tolerable state of health. The ferment in the town runs very high, concerning my opinion about the Sacrament; but I am no more able to foretell the issue, than when I last saw you. . . . Commending you to the care and special favour of our heavenly Father, I am

Your very affectionate father,  
Jonathan Edwards.

*The varied occupations of Miss Anna Green Winslow, a young lady visiting in Boston; also her patient endurance of trials, perchance not great, yet onerous to a damsel of ten.*

February 22. [1772]

I have spun 30 knots of linning yarn; and (partly) new footed a pair of stockings for Lucinda, read a part of the pilgrim's progress, coppied part of my text journal (that if I live a few years longer, I may be able to understand it, for aunt sais, that to her, the contents as I first mark'd them, were an impenetrable secret) play'd some, tuck'd a great deal (Aunt Deming says it is very true) laugh'd enough, & I tell aunt it is all human *nature*, if not human reason. And now I wish my honored mamma a very good night.

March 4. 1772

I have just now been writing four lines in my Book almost as well as the copy. But all the intreaties in the world will not prevail upon me to do always as well as I can, which is not the least trouble to me, tho' its a great grief to aunt Deming.

March 11. [1772]

Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth. Thus king Solomon, inspired by the Holy Ghost, cautions, Pro. xxvii. i. My aunt says, this is a most necessary lesson to be learn'd & laid up in the heart. I am quite of her mind. I have met with a disappointment to day, & aunt says, I may look for them every day — we live in a changing world — in scripture call'd a vale of tears. Uncle said yesterday that there had not been so much snow on the ground this winter as there was then — it has been vastly added to since then, & is now 7 feet deep in some places round this house; it is above the fence in the coart & thick snow began to fall and condtinu'd till about 5 o'clock P. M. (it is about 1-4 past 8 o'clock) since which there has been a steady rain — so no visiting as I hoped this day, & this is the disappointment I mentioned on t'other page. Last saturday I sent my cousin Betsy Storer a Billet of which the following is a copy. Miss Green gives her love to Miss Storer & informs her that she is very *sensible* of the effects of a bad cold, not only in the pain she has had in her throat, neck and face, which have been much swell'd & which she is not quite clear of, but that she has also been by the same depriv'd of the pleasure of seeing Miss Storer & her other friends in Sudbury

Street. She begs, her Duty, Love & Compliments, may be presented as due & that she may be inform'd if they be in health. To this I have receiv'd no answer. I suppose she don't think I am worth an answer. But I have finished my stent, and wrote all under this date, & now I have just daylight eno' to add, my love and duty to dear friends at *Cumberland*.

*The gross and violent conduct of Mr. Nathaniel Eaton towards his usher, and his debarring from teaching children within the Massachusetts settlement.*

[September 4, 1639]

At the general court at Boston, one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton . . . was convented and censured. The occasion was this: He was a schoolmaster, and had many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the country, and had entertained one Nathaniel Briscoe, a gentleman born, to be his usher, and to do some other things for him, which might not be unfit for a scholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and, with reproachful terms, discharged him, and turned him out of his doors; but, it being then about eight of the clock after the Sabbath, he told him he should stay till next morning, and, some words growing between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house. Briscoe defended himself, and closed with him, and, being parted, he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him, etc., and if he could not, by the power of a master, reform him,

then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length, and, taking his two men with him, he went up to Briscoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders, etc., and so kept him under blows (with some two or three short intermissions) about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over. In this distress Briscoe gate out his knife, and struck at the man that held him, but hurt him not. He also fell to prayer, (supposing he should have been murdered,) and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain. . . . Mr. Eaton . . . being after called into the court to make answer to the information, which had been given by some who knew the truth of the case, and also to answer for his neglect and cruelty, and other ill usage towards his scholars . . . his answers were full of pride and disdain. . . . Being asked, why he used such cruelty to Briscoe his usher, and to other his scholars, (for it was testified by another of his ushers and diverse of his scholars, that he would give them between twenty and thirty stripes at a time, and would not leave till they had confessed what he required,) his answer was, that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting till he had subdued the party to his will. Being also questioned about the ill and scant diet of his boarders, (for, though their friends gave large allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely,) he put it off to his wife. . . . The gov-

ernor, after a short preface, etc., declared the sentence of the court to this effect, viz.: that he should give Briscoe £30, fined 100 marks, and debarred teaching of children within our jurisdiction.

— *John Winthrop.*

*The pleasant earthly situation of a Boston school-master.*

*To Dr. Increase Mather.*

April 25, 1710, Third-day.

Rever<sup>d</sup>. Sir, — I am favoured with yours of yesterday. The purpose therein mentioned, I Entreat you to Review, and alter; and that for these Reasons. The Town expends many Thousand pounds yearly, by Tax and Contribution; besides what they lay out upon the Account of Charity. And yet notwithstanding, a very good fair new Schoolhouse is built and a very good Dwellinghouse for the Master. Our late excellent Master, Mr. Ezekiel Chiever went to his heavenly Mansion, from a very pleasant Earthly Situation. At the last Anniversary Meeting the Town augmented the Master's Salary to One Hundred pounds *p* annum. What with that, and some small perquisites, a humble Christian Man that loves Work more than Wages, needs not be discouraged; considering likewise the Allowance of an Usher with a Salary of Fourty pounds. These provisions thus made during the long lasting War, in way of a Tax, for one of their Schools, and by a full Vote, by a Town not eighty years old; must needs gratify you; and the rather, because there was some doubt whether it would have been so comfortably accomplished.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

*Sundry Commencements at Harvard College, beginning with the first.*

[1642]

Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. . . . The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz., all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the president, or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students' encouragement, etc., and it gave good content to all.

At this commencement, complaint was made to the governors of two young men, of good quality, lately come out of England, for foul misbehavior, in swearing and ribaldry speeches, etc., for which, though they were adulti, they were corrected in the college, and sequestered, etc., for a time.

— *John Winthrop.*

The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a Letter sent over from the Governour, and diverse of the Ministers, their own words these.

The Students of the first Classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in *University-Learning* (for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues and Arts) and are approved for their manners as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeares, our selves being present, at them; so have they

lately kept two solemne Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with allsorts of Schollars and others in great numbers were present, and did heare their exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations and Hebrew Analysis Grammaticall, Logicall & Rhetoricall of the Psalms: And their Answers and Disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall and Metaphysicall Questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called Batchelour) *pro more Academicarum in Anglia*: Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers and by him, upon their Approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a Booke of Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library.

All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull, and able Servants in our owne Native Country, and here, (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lords goodnesse for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the Churches of Christ Jesus.

Your very loving  
friends, &c.

Boston in New-England,  
September the 26,  
1642.

Midweek, July 2, 1707. Cōmencement Day is fair and pleasant. Jane and I go betime by Charlestown; set out before 5; had a very pleasant journey; went from Charlestown in a Calash. . . . Went into the Meetinghouse about 11. Mr. Willard pray'd. Mr. Wigglesworth began to dispute; before he had done, the Gov<sup>r</sup> came; when the first Question was dispatch'd, the Orator was call'd forth: His Oration was very well accepted; I was concern'd for my son, who was not well, lest he should have fail'd; but God helped him. His Cous. Moodey of York had pray'd earnestly for it the night before; and gave Thanks for it in prayer the night after. My Son held the first Question in the Afternoon; *Anima non fit ex Traduce*. . . . My Son was the first that had a Degree given him in the New Meetinghouse. The Desks were adorned with green curtains, which it seems, were Wainwrights. I could not hear one Word while the Degrees were giving.

July, 3. [1707] *Feria sexta* Mr. Stoddard preached excellently from Mica, 1.5. . . . Said he could see no reason why a papist might not *cross himself* Ten times a day, as well as a Minister cross a child once. —Spake *plainly* in Several Articles against Superstition. Spake against excess in Cōmencem't entertainments. Gov<sup>r</sup> call'd at night with Mr. Stoddard and told me I should cause them to conclude.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

[July 3, 1717]

This Day, being the *Commencement*, as they call it; a Time of much Resort unto Cambridge, and sorrily enough thrown away, I chose to spend this

Time at home, and I sett apart a good Part of it, for Prayer with Fasting before the Lord.

— *Cotton Mather.*

[July 1, 1724]

This Day, being our insipid ill-contrived, anniversary Solemnity, which we call, *The Commencement*, I chose to spend it at home, in Supplications; partly on the behalf of the Colledge, that it may not be foolishly thrown away: but that GOD bestow such a President upon it, as may prove a rich Blessing unto it, and unto all our Churches.

— *Cotton Mather.*

[July 20, 1763]

Commenc<sup>t</sup> at Camb<sup>r</sup>. Solemnity begun with an Oration in Latin saluting the Audience, then came on a Disputation in Latin, then an English Oration on the Advantages of a liberal Education which concluded the forenoon Exercise. Afternoon begun with disp. by the Masters after that a Dialogue in English then they descended to take their Degrees, then the valedictory Oration then the President concluded with a Prayer.

— *Nathaniel Ames.*

*Concerning the conduct of the students of Harvard College, at times more frank in the recital than praiseworthy in the performance.*

[June 5, 1644]

Two of our ministers' sons, being students in the college, robbed two dwelling houses in the night of some 15 pounds. Being found out, they were ordered

by the governors of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the president himself — yet they were about 20 years of age; and after they were brought into the court and ordered to two fold satisfaction, or to serve so long for it. We had yet no particular punishment for burglary.

— *John Winthrop.*

[Circ. 1673]

. . . Abhor one Hour of Idleness, as you would be ashamed of one Hour of Drunkenness. Though I would not have you neglect Seasons for Recreation a little before and after Meals, and though I would not have you study late in the Night usually, yet know, that God will curse your Soul, while the Sin of Idleness is nourished, which hath spoiled so many hopeful Youths, in their first Blossoming in the Colledge. Hence don't content your self to do as much as your Tutor sets you about, but know, that you will never excel in Learning, unless you do somewhat else in private Hours, wherein his Care cannot reach you. . . .

— *Thomas Shepard.*

August 29 [1653]: My pupills all came to me y<sup>s</sup> day to desire yy might ceas learning Hebrew: I w<sup>th</sup>stood it w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> reasō I could, yet all will not satisfy y<sup>m</sup>. Thus am I requited for my love; & thus little fruit of all my prayers & tears for y<sup>r</sup> good.

August 30: God appear'd somew<sup>t</sup> in inclining y<sup>e</sup> sp[iri]<sup>t</sup> of my pupils to y<sup>e</sup> study of Hebrew as I pray'd y<sup>t</sup> God would do.

— *Edward Taylor.*

[1668?]

Mr. Graves, not having his name for nought, lost the love of the undergraduates by his too much austerity, whereupon they used to strike a nail above the hall door-catch while we were reciting to him, and so nail him in the hall.

— *Edward Taylor.*

Monday, June 15, 1674. . . . Thomas Sargeant was examined by the Corporation: finally the advice of Mr. Danforth, Mr. Stoughton; Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Mather (then present) was taken. This was his sentence.

That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the H[oly] G[host] he should be therefore publickly whipped before all the Scholars. 2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelour. . . . 3. Sit alone by himself in the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the Colledge. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr. Danforth, Jr. being present) before the Scholars. He kneeled down and the instrument Goodman Hely attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

[March, 1682]

The Corporation met in the College Library between 9 and 10 of ye clock being Monday: About 3 of ye clock ye under graduates were called in ye

Hall to be examined about ye abusing of ye freshmen. About 5 of ye clock or between 4 and 5, they were called in again to hear ye Corporation's conclusion.

Y<sup>t</sup> Webb should have what gifts were bestowed on him by the College taken away, and y<sup>t</sup> he should be expelled ye College, and having called for a Bible on which his name was written, Mr. Mather tore it off. Moreover if he was seen in the College after 29 hours, ye resident fellows were to carry him before ye civil magistrates. Moreover Danforth, Myles, Watson were publickly admonished for speaking irreverently before ye Corporation.

— *Noahdiah Russell.*

- [March] 13 [1758] Came to College, began Logick.  
 18 fit with the Sophomores about Cust[oms].  
 20 had another Fight with the sophomores.  
 22 went to Newtown Ordination.  
 30 read Watses Logick.  
 June 22 Roman Father a Play.  
 23 Declaimed this morning left off my wigg.  
 26 Presidents Grass Mow'd.  
 30 Valedictory day, I waited on the Orator. Tom Wentworth was Orator.  
 July 1 finished the Presidents hay.  
 3 Cato a Play acted at Warrens Cham[ber].  
 10 began to make arguments.  
 11 did not go to prayers.  
 16 Sot in the Sophimores Seat.  
 18 Seniors went into the meeting house to dispute.  
 19 Commencement. Governours came.  
 [October] 22 [1759] Disputed on Status futuris patet lumine Natura.  
 23 Disputed forensy on Soul is not extended.

[November] 23 went to Boston, the Revenge acted at Bowmans.

27 disputed on *Bruta non cogitant*.

[June] 13 [1760] Acted Tancred & Sigism<sup>da</sup> for which we are like to be prosecuted.

17. . . . Disputed. Freshmen Rake Presidents Hay.

[September] 9 President sick wherefore much Deviltry carried on in College.

[October] 1 Schol<sup>s</sup> Degraded this Morning 2 adm<sup>shd</sup> 1 punish'd.

10 Kneelands and Thayers Windows broke last night.

[November] 17 finished Dialling enter'd on Trigonometry.

[December] 12 Quarter Day. Calculated on Eclipse with Flag.

18 Analized 5 Chap: of Ephesians.

22 Gardiner & Barnard admonish'd Stealing Wood.

26 News of K. George 2<sup>d</sup> Death on Oct<sup>r</sup> 25th.

30 King George III proclaimed in Boston.

[February] 16 [1761] begun to recite Wats's Astronomy.

26 lost 2 Pistare<sup>ns</sup> at Cards last Evening.

[March] 25 The Robins come.

26 First game of Bat & Ball.

[April] 15 Dependants on the Favors of the President and Tutors sign an agreement to inform of any scholar that is guilty of profanity.

[May] 19 Joseph Cabot rusticated as soon as the President said he was rusticated. He took his Hat & went out of the Chap[el] without staying to hear the Presidents Speech out. After Prayers he bul-

rags the Tutors at a high rate & leaves Coll[ege] his mother faints at the News.

20 Chapel rob'd of the Cushing & Bible Cloths.

[June] 19 the last Friday that we are ever to be pun<sup>sh</sup>

26 Valedictory Oration pronounced by S. Hooper.

[July] 15 Comm[encemen]<sup>t</sup> many Dedhamites present.

16 A Dance in Town house Camb<sup>ge</sup>.

17 a genteel Set down at Prentices. Prentices account for Trouble & a few things taken by Negroes on my Ac. came to about 34 £. . . .

18 devouring the remains of Commenc<sup>t</sup>.

—*Nathaniel Ames.*

*Harvard College as observed by visitors and travellers presents no imposing aspect nor is its scholarly activity highly esteemed.*

[July 9, 1680]

. . . We reached Cambridge about eight o'clock. It is not a large village, and the houses stand very much apart. The college building is the most conspicuous among them. We went to it, expecting to see something unusual, as it is the only college, or would-be academy of the Protestants in all America, but we found ourselves mistaken. In approaching the house we neither heard nor saw anything mentionable; but, going to the other side of the building, we heard noise enough in an upper room to lead my companion to say, "I believe they are engaged in disputation." We entered and went up stairs, when a person met us, and requested us to walk in, which we did. We found there eight or ten young fellows,

sitting around, smoking tobacco, with the smoke of which the room was so full, that you could hardly see; and the whole house smelt so strong of it that when I was going up stairs I said, "It certainly must be also a tavern." We excused ourselves, that we could speak English only a little, but understood Dutch or French well, which they did not. However, we spoke as well as we could. We inquired how many professors there were, and they replied not one, that there was not enough money to support one. We asked how many students there were. They said at first, thirty, and then came down to twenty; I afterwards understood there are probably not ten. They knew hardly a word of Latin, not one of them, so that my companion could not converse with them. They took us to the library where there was nothing particular. We looked it over a little. They presented us with a glass of wine. This is all we ascertained there. The minister of the place goes there morning and evening to make prayer, and has charge over them; besides him, the students are under tutors or masters. . . .

—*Jasper Danckaerts.*

Wednesday, September 24. [1740] Preached at Cambridge, the chief college in New England for training the sons of the prophets. It has one president, four tutors, and about a hundred students. The college is scarce as big as one of our least colleges at Oxford; and, as far as I could gather from some who knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety. Discipline is at a low ebb. Bad books are become fashionable among the tutors and students. Tillotson and Clark are read, instead

of Sheppard, Stoddard, and such-like evangelical writers . . . .The president of the college and minister of the parish treated me very civilly. In the afternoon, I preached again, in the court. I believe there were about seven thousand hearers. The Holy Spirit melted many hearts.

—*George Whitefield.*

[October 25, 1750]

. . . After Dinner M<sup>r</sup> Jacob Wendell and Abraham Wendell and Self took Horse and went to See Cambridge which is a neat Pleasant Village and Consists of ab<sup>t</sup> an Hundred Houses and three Collages, which are a Plain Old Fabrick of no manner of Archetect and the Present much Out of Repair is Situated on one Side the Towne and forms a Large Square, its Apartments are Pretty Large. The Library is very large and well Stored with Books, but much Abused by Frequent use. . . .

—*Francis Goelet.*

*Whence Yale College received its name and the good hopes that attended its removal to New Haven.*

*To Mr. Elihu Yale.*

Boston, New England, 14th d. 11th month, 1717-18  
Sir,

There are those in these parts of the western India, who have had the satisfaction to know something of what you have done and gained in the

*eastern*, and they take delight in the story. But that which has made many of them the more sensibly acquainted with it, is, their having felt the testimonies thereof in the overflowing liberalities whereof you find the objects on this side of the wide Atlantic.

New England values itself upon the honor of being your native country. But you do singularly oblige as well as honor it, in that, although you left it in such an early infancy as to be incapable of remembering any thing in it, yet you have been pleased on all occasions to testify a good will unto it. . . .

The Colony of Connecticut, having for some years had a College at Saybrook without a collegious way of living for it, have lately begun to erect a large edifice for it in the town of New Haven. The charge of that expensive building is not yet all paid, nor are there yet any funds of revenues for salaries to the Professors and Instructors to the society.

Sir, though you have your felicities in your family, which I pray God continue and multiply, yet certainly, if what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of YALE COLLEGE, it would be better than *a name of sons and daughters*. And your munificence might easily obtain for you such a commemoration and perpetuation of your valuable name, which would indeed be much better than an Egyptian pyramid. . . .

Nor will it be any disadvantage unto your person or family, for a good people to make mention of you in their prayers unto the glorious Lord, as one who has loved their nation, and supported and strengthened *the seminary from whence they expect the supply of all their synagogues*. But having thus far presumed upon your goodness, I shall presume no further, but,

with hearty supplications to Heaven, that the blessings thereof may be showered plentifully down upon you and yours,

I subscribe, Sir,  
Your most sincere friend and servant,  
Cotton Mather.

*To Governour Saltonstall.*

25th d. 6th month, 1718.

Sir,

'Tis an unspeakable pleasure unto me, that I have been in any measure capable of serving so precious a thing as your College at New Haven.

Governor Yale now gives you a sensible proof, that he has begun to take it under his patronage and protection. But I am informed, that what he now does is very little in proportion to what he will do, when once he finds, by the name of it, that it may claim an adoption with him. Yale College cannot fail of Mr. Yale's generous and growing bounty. *I confess, that it was a great and inexcusable presumption in me, to make myself so far the godfather of the beloved infant as to propose a name for it.* But I assured myself, that if a succession of solid and lasting benefits might be entailed upon it your Honor and the Honorable Trustees, would pardon me, and the proposal would be complied withal.

It is a thousand pities, that the dear infant should be in danger of being strangled in the birth, by a dissension of your good people about the place where it shall be nourished in the wilderness. But probably the Yolean assistance to New Haven will prove

a decisive circumstance, which will dispose ali to an acquiescence there.

*When the servants of God meet at your Commencement, I make no doubt, that, under your Honor's Influence and encouragements, they will make it an opportunity, in the most serious and mature manner, to deliberate upon projections to serve the great interests of education, and so of religion, both in your College and throughout your Colony, as well as whatever else may advance the kingdom of God, and not suffer an interview of your best men to evaporate such a senseless, useless, noisy impertinency, as it uses to do with us at Cambridge. . . .*

I repeat my humble supplications, that our glorious Lord would multiply his blessings on your honorable person, consort, family, and government; and am,

Your Honor's most sincere servant,  
Cotton Mather.

*Various aspects of life at Yale College, diverse in character and implication.*

Norwich, May 28th, 1779.

Rev<sup>d</sup> and Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir:

Received your favour by Lovet, with your unmerited Complaisance. As to your Queries, cannot say much. However, would say, what I know. . . Books of the Languages and Sciences recited in my day [1710-1714] were Tully and Virgil, but without any Notes; Burgersdicius and Pamus's Logick, also Heerebord's set Logic, &c.; Pierson's manuscript of Physicks, w<sup>c</sup> I have no copy of. We recited the

Greek Testament; knew not Homer, &c.; recited the Psalms in Hebrew. . . . We recited Ames' Medulla on Saturdays, and also his Cases of Conscience sometimes; the two upper classes used to dispute syllogistically twice or thrice a week.

On Commencements, Rector Andrew always presided at Saybrook, in my day, and the Commencement<sup>t</sup> always in y<sup>e</sup> meeting house . . . These were held both parts of y<sup>e</sup> day, began and ended w<sup>th</sup> prayer; the disputations carried on much as since, a Salutatory and Valedictory oration, but none in English as now.

The Rector gave degrees much in the present form (no *pro modo Anglice* then); when he came to y<sup>e</sup> words *hunc Librum*, he gave y<sup>e</sup> candidates a little book into their hands, which they returned for y<sup>e</sup> next, for they came up only two by two; no Diplomas were delivered then.

The Rector previous to the giving of Degrees ask'd the consent of the Trustees, saying *placetne vobis*, &c., to which they answered *placet, placet*. . . .

Who were chief orators in my day. I'm y<sup>e</sup> less able to say as oratory was but little known, studied, or famed, to what it is now. Indeed, Composition and Language were then scarcely enô in vogue to excite ambition where there might be a genius for it. . . .

As for the Mathematicks, we recited and studied but little more than the rudiments of it, some of y<sup>e</sup> plainest things in it. Our advantages in that day were too low for any to rise high in any branches of literature. . . .

Yours to serve,  
Benj<sup>a</sup> Lord.

To the Rev. Timothy Edwards, Pastor of the Church  
at East Windsor.

New-Haven, July 21, 1719.

Ever Honoured Sir,

I received, with two books, a letter from yourself, bearing the date of July 7th; and therein I received with the greatest gratitude, your most wholesome advice and counsel; and I hope I shall, God helping of me, use my utmost endeavours to put the same in practice. I am sensible of the preciousness of my time, and am resolved it shall not be through any neglect of mine, if it slips without the greatest advantage. I take very great content under my present tuition, as all the rest of the scholars seem to do under theirs. Mr. Cutler is extraordinarily courteous to us, has a very good spirit of government, keeps the school in excellent order, seems to increase in learning, is loved and respected by all who are under him, and when he is spoken of in the school or town, he generally has the title of President. The scholars all live in very good peace with the people of the town; and there is not a word said about our former carryings on, except now and then by aunt Mather. . . I have enquired of Mr. Cutler, what books we shall have need of the next year. He answered he would have me get against that time, Alstead's geometry and Gassendus' Astronomy; with which I would intreat you to get a pair of dividers, or mathematician's compasses, and a scale, which are absolutely necessary in order to learning mathematics; and also, the Art of Thinking, which,

I am persuaded, would be no less profitable, than the other necessary, to me, who am

Your most dutiful Son,

Jonathan Edwards.

P. S. What we give a week for our board, is £0. 5s. od.

[1738]

. . . Last night some of the freshmen got six quarts of Rhum and about two payls fool of Sydar and about eight pounds suger and mad it in to Samson, and evited every scholer in Colege in to Churtis is Room, and we mad such prodigius Rought that we Raised the tutor, and he ordred us all to our one rooms and some went and some taried and they geathered a gain and went up to old father Monsher dore and drumed against the dore and yeled and screamed so that a bodey would have thought that they were killing dodgs there, and all this day they have bien a counsling to geather, and they sent for Woodward and Dyar and Worthenton, Briant and Styles. . . .

—*Ezra Clap.*

David Brainerd, *in a letter to the governours of Yale College, humbly acknowledges the grievous fault for which he was banished from among the scholars and expresses hearty repentance for the same.*

[September 15, 1743]

. . . Whereas I have said before several Persons, concerning Mr. Whittelsey, one of the Tutors of Yale-College, that I did not believe he had any more

Grace, than the chair I then lean'd upon; I humbly confess, that herein I have sin'd against God, and acted contrary to the Rules of his Word, and have injured Mr. Whittlesey. I had no Right to make thus free with his Character; and had no just Reason to say as I did concerning him. My Fault herein was the more Aggravated, in that I said this concerning One that was so much my Superiour, and one that I was obliged to treat with special Respect and Honour, by Reason of the Relation I stood in to him in the College. Such a Manner of Behaviour, I confess, did not become a Christian; it was taking too much upon me, and did not favour of that humble Respect, that I ought to have expres'd towards Mr. Whittlesey. I have long since been convinced of the Falseness of those Apprehensions, by which I then justified such a Conduct. I have often reflected on this Act with Grief; I hope, on Account of the Sin of it: And am willing to lie low, and be abased before God and Man for it. And humbly ask the Forgiveness of the Governours of the College, and of the whole Society; but of Mr. Whittlesey in particular. And whereas I have been accused by one Person of saying concerning the Rev. Rector of Yale-College, that I wondered he did not expect to drop down dead for fining the Scholars that followed Mr. Tennent to Milford; I seriously profess that I don't remember my saying any Thing to this Purpose. But if I did, which I am not certain I did not, I utterly condemn it, and detest all such Kind of Behaviour; and especially in an Undergraduate towards the Rector. And I now appear, to judge and condemn my self for going once to the separate Meeting in New-Haven, a little before I was ex-

pell'd, tho' the Rector had refused to give me Leave. For this I humbly ask the Rector's Forgiveness. And whether the Governours of the College shall ever see Cause to remove the Academical Censure I lie under, or no, or to admit me to the Priviledges I desire; yet I am willing to appear, if they think fit, openly to own, and to humble my self for those Things I have herein confess'd. . . .

*Of the sad defection of the rector and tutors of Yale College and the ensuing scandal among the churches, more of which will be noted later.*

. . . Our school gloried and flourished under its first rector, the Rev. Mr. Pierson, a pattern of piety, a man of modest behaviour, of solid learning, and sound principles, free from the least Arminian or Episcopal taint: But it suffered a decay for some years, because of the want of a resident rector. But who could have conjectured, that its name being raised to Collegium Yalense from a Gymnasium Saybrookense, it should groan out Ichabod in about three years and a half under its second rector, so unlike the first. . . Upon the management of our college three years and a half, how strangely altered is the aspect thereof! that its regents, sc. rector and tutor are become such capable masters of Episcopal leaven, and in such a time so able to cause how many to partake of it! . . .

Upon our commencement, Sept. 12, the rector distinguished his performance by the closing words of his prayer, which were these, viz. *and let all the people say, amen.* . . .

But the day following the commencement after dinner, these gentlemen appeared in the library before the trustees, where many other ministers were present, and first declared themselves *vivâ voce*, but after that, on the direction of the trustees, declared themselves in writing, a copy whereof is not with us. But the substance thereof is this. *sc.*

Some of us doubting the validity of Presbyterial ordination in opposition to Episcopal ordination, and others of us fully persuaded of the invalidity of said ordination, shall be thankful to God or man helping us if in an error. Signed. . .

It may be added, that Mr. C[utler] then declared to the trustees, that he had for many years been of this persuasion, (his wife is reported to have said that to her knowledge he had for eleven or twelve years been so persuaded) and that therefore he was the more uneasy in performing the acts of his ministry at Stratford, and the more readily accepted the call to a college improvement at N. Haven.

But then if he knew the college was erected for the education of such as dissented from the church of England, (and how could he not know it) and knew himself not one: with what good faith could he accept said call. . . . Indeed he hath said, that he hath laboured only with one to be of his persuasion: Were it so, there would, in one instance, be a foul frustration of the confidence reposed in him, but what a number above one of the students have been leavened by him, who can be assured, but coming time may discover the unhappy instances of it.

Further, Mr. C[utler] then also declared it his firm persuasion, that out of the church of England, ordinarily, there was no salvation.

To the last we only say, *Μὴ γενοιτὶ* for we dare not so offend the generation of the righteous, nor disturb the ashes of the myriads, that have slept in Jesus, of the Catholick professors of the orthodox faith in the three kingdoms, yea, and all reformed christendom, and in New England particularly, who have not been of the communion of the church of England. . . .

Reverend Sirs, having thus bemoaned the dark providence over us, we may not doubt of your christian sympathy, nor of your prayers, which yet we earnestly ask, unto Him, that holdeth the stars in his right hand, and walketh in the midst of the golden candlesticks. . . And with sincere prayers, that how grievous soever our sins have been, and how much his anger hath been kindled against us, it may please the Lord, who is God and not man, yea the God of pardon, not to give us up, cast us off, forsake us, . . . but that his gracious-blessing-presence may be, and continue in your and our churches,

We subscribe ourselves, Reverend Sirs,

Your unworthy fellow-partners  
in the ministry of the gospel,

John Davenport.

S. Buckingham.

The very Reverend Increase Mather, D. D.  
Cotton Mather, D. D.

Stamford, Sept. 25, 1722.

Of the Indians: setting forth Plans for their Education in sacred and profane Learning, for their Conversion and Government; likewise the furious Wars that resulted, with some of their Causes and Effects.



*The first sight of the Indians and that largely to the rearward.*

[November 15, 1620]

. . . Being thus arrived at Cap-Cod y<sup>e</sup> 11. of November; and necessitie calling them to looke out a place for habitation . . . a few of them tendered them selves to goe by land and discovere those nearest places. . . It was conceived ther might be some danger in y<sup>e</sup> attempte, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to goe, being 16. of them well armed, under y<sup>e</sup> conduct of Captain Standish, having shuch instructions given them as was thought meete. They set forth y<sup>e</sup> 15. of Nove<sup>br</sup> and when they had marched aboute y<sup>e</sup> space of a mile by y<sup>e</sup> sea side, they espied 5. or 6. persons with a dogg coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them, and ran<sup>e</sup> up into y<sup>e</sup> woods, and y<sup>e</sup> English followed them. . . . But y<sup>e</sup> Indeans seeing themselves thus followed, they againe forsooke the woods, and rane away on y<sup>e</sup> sands as hard as they could. . . .

—*William Bradford.*

Roger Williams, *true to his tenets, pleads for peace and liberty, that they may be vouchsafed even to ignorant savages.*

[July 8, 1654]

. . . I never was ag<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> righteous vse of y<sup>e</sup> Civill Sword of Men or Nations but yet since all men of Conscience or Prudence, ply to Windward & wisely

labour to mainteine their Wars to be defensive, (as did both K[ing] & Scotch & English & Irish too in these late Wars) I humbly pray yo<sup>r</sup> Consideracion whether it be not, not only possible but very easie for y<sup>e</sup> English to live and die in peace with all y<sup>e</sup> Natives of this Countrey.

For 2<sup>ndly</sup> are not all y<sup>e</sup> English of this Land (generally) a persecuted people from their Native Soile? & hath not y<sup>e</sup> God of Peace & Father of Mercies made these Natives more friendly in this Wilderness, then o<sup>r</sup> Native Countrimen in o<sup>r</sup> owne land to vs? Have they not entred Leagues of Love & to this day continued peaceable Commerce with vs? Are not o<sup>r</sup> Families & Townes growne vp in peace amongst<sup>t</sup> them? vpon w<sup>ch</sup> I humbly aske how it can suite, with Christian Ingenuitie to take hould of some seeming Occasions for their Destructions, w<sup>ch</sup> (though y<sup>e</sup> Heads be only aimed at) Yet all Experience tells vs, falls on y<sup>e</sup> Body & jnnocent.

Thirdly, I pray it may be remembered, how greatly y<sup>e</sup> Name of God is Concerned in this Affaire; for it Can not be hid, how all Engl: & other Nations ring with y<sup>e</sup> glorious Conversion of y<sup>e</sup> Indians of New Engl: . . .

Honored S<sup>rs</sup> Whether I have bene & am a friend to y<sup>e</sup> Natives turning to Civilitie & Christianitie, & Whether I have bene jnstrumentall & desire so to be (according to my Light) I will not trouble You with, only I beseech you consider how y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> most holy & jealous God may be preserved betweene y<sup>e</sup> clashings of these Two: viz: The Glorious Conversion of y<sup>e</sup> Indians in N: Engl: & y<sup>e</sup> Vnnecessary Warrs & cruell Destructions of y<sup>e</sup> Indians in New Engl: . . . .

*A sheaf of letters from that eminent man of God and apostle to the Indians, the Reverend John Eliot, in which are seen the ardor of his love and the tenderness of his concern for those lost tribes to whom he gave his life.*

To the Honor<sup>ble</sup> Gov & Council siting at Boston, this 13<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup>, '75, the humble petition of John Eliot. sheweth

That the terror of selling away such Indians, unto the Ilands for p petual slaves, who shall yeild up y<sup>m</sup>selves to your mercy, is like to be an efectual p longation of the warre & such an exaspation of y<sup>m</sup> as may p duce we know not what evil consequences, upon all the land. Christ hath saide, blessed are the mercyfull for y<sup>e</sup> shall obtaine mercy. This useage of y<sup>m</sup> is worse y<sup>n</sup> death—the designe of christ in these last dayes, is not to extirpate nations, but to gospelize y<sup>m</sup>—his Sovraigne hand & grace hath brought the gospel into these dark places of the earth—when we came, we declared to the world, & it is recorded, yea we are ingaged by o<sup>r</sup> letters Patent fro the kings Majesty, that the indeavour of the Indians conversion, not their exstirpation, was one great end of our enterprize, in coming to these ends of the earth. The Lord hath so succeeded y<sup>t</sup> work, as that (by his grace) they have the holy Scriptures & sundry of themselves able to teach their countrymen, the good knowledge of God. . . . I doubt not but the meaning of Christ is, to open a dore for the free passage of the gospel among y<sup>m</sup>—my humble request is, y<sup>t</sup> you would follow Christ his designe in this matter, to p mote the free passage of Religion

among y<sup>m</sup>, & not to destroy y<sup>m</sup> — to sell soules for money seemeth to me a dangerous merchandize. . . all men (of reading) condemne the Spaniard for cruelty upon this poynt in destroying men, & depopulating the land, the country is large enough, here is land enough for them & us too. . . .

I desire the honor<sup>d</sup> Council to pardon my boldnesse, & let the case of conscience be discussed orderly, before the King be asked, cover my weaknesse, & weigh the reason & religion y<sup>t</sup> laboreth in this great case of conscience.

*To Mr. Winslow, "the agent of the countrey."*

. . . Let me, I beseech you, trouble you a little farther with some considerations about this great Indian work which lyeth upon me, as my continual care, prayer, desire and endeavour to carry on, namely for their schooling and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means of promoting of it for future times; If the Lord bring us to live in a Towne and Society, we must have special care to have Schools for the instruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the Scriptures at least. And therefore there must be some Annual renew for the maintaining of such Schoolmasters and Dames; Besides, I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargeable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little

leasure to attend it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care and reverence; and all this is chargeable; therefore I look at that as a special matter on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my Ministry in our church whereby my family is sustained to attend the Indians to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing, nor have they any thing to give: so that want of money is the only thing in view that doth retard a more full prosecution of this work unto which the Lord doth ripen them apace.

Moreover, there be sundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not vitiously inclined, but well disposed, which I desire may be wholly sequestered to learning, and put to Schoole for that purpose, had we means; and I suppose ten pounds *per Annum* to be paid in *England*, will maintain one Indian youth at Schoole, and halfe a score such Gifts or Annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so farre as concerns that particular.

. . . And so commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace which is able to sanctifie and save you, I rest

Roxburg, this 8. Your Lordships Brother and  
of the 5. 49. fellow labourer for the good  
of the poor Indians.  
John Eliot.

*To the Same.*

. . . And whereas some, (as I am informed) who came from us to *England*, are no better friends to this work than they should, and may speak lightly of it: I do intreat that such may be asked but this question; Did they so much regard to look after it here, as to go three or four miles to some of our meetings, and to observe what was said and done there? if not how can they tell how things be? if they say they were, I desire to know what they except against? If they say the Indians be all nought because such as come loytering and filtching about in our Townes are so; Wish them to consider how unequal that judgment is, if all the English should be judged by the worst of them; and any should say they be all such, this were to condemne the righteous with the wicked. . . .

Now dear Sir, it may be you will desire to know what kinde of Civil Government they shall be instructed in; I acknowledge it to be a very weighty consideration; and I have advised with Mr. *Cotton* and others about it, and this I propound as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver, the Lord shall be their Judge, the Lord shall be their King, and he will save them; and when it is so the Lord reigneth, and unto that frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done. . . .

*To the Honourable Robert Boyle.*

Boston, June 21, 1683.

Right honourable, nursing father,

Your hungry alumni do still cry unto your honour for the milk of the word in the whole word of God, and for the bread of life which they have fed upon in whole bible, and are very thankful for what they have, and importunately desirous to enjoy the whole book of God. It is the greatest charity in the world to provide for their souls. Should your honour please but to change your bountiful charity from their bodies to their souls, here is enough already sent over to accomplish the work; they only stay for the word from your honour's *fiat*. My age makes me importunate. I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the bible among them, for it is the word of life; and there be some godly souls among them that live thereby. The work is under great incumberments and discouragements. My heart hath much ado to hold up my head; but doth daily drive me to Christ; and I tell the Lord, that it is his word, and your hearts are in his hand. I do therefore commit the whole to the Lord, and leave both it and myself to the Lord, who hath not left me wholly destitute. But I shall give your honour at present no farther trouble, for I am surprised with this opportunity of writing: therefore, committing your honour to the Lord, I rest,

Your honour's to serve you  
in the Lord,  
John Eliot.

*The hideous and bloody massacres in the eastern settlements.*

Sept. 13, 1703.

. . . We flattered ourselves with y<sup>e</sup> notion of a profound peace with the Eastern Indians, & haue carressed them at a strang rate, notwithstanding their being governed by the French preists, who they always kept amongst them in despite of us, after all our endeavours to have them dismist, & at length have, with the assistance of 20 or 30 French (amongst which were those preists), fallen upon many poor, scattering familys, & barbarously murdered & destroyed men, women, & children, to the number of about 75 persons, and carried away about 90 captives, many of which, no doubt, they will roast & destroy with unheard-of cruelty, as their manner is. How those poor people cam to be lul'd into such a security, I know not. They had all the reason in the world never to trust an Indian more, if they had remembred the last warr. For my part, after we heard of warr with France, I expected whenever the French comāded them to come upon us they would certainly do it, notwithstanding their pretences of peace. The perfidious temper of all Indians, as well among themselves as to the Europeans, no longer keeps their words or promise than they have opportunity to brake them with advantage (it being a maxim in their politicks as well as among the French). I concluded the French, & espetically the preists, who live among<sup>st</sup> them, would not faile to exhort them to destroy heriticks, & piously assist them in it; besides, the French, by marying or mixing with them, which they frequently do, have

a tye upon them beyond anything we can pretend to, and which they value beyond anything else, and which they know an Englishman hates the thoughts of. And that which makes them the more fond of the preists is their being supplied with cruxifixes and beads and many fine trinkets & baubles; and thay are after a sort prosilized to a crossing themselves, with other fopperys, which, with other things too numerous to write, gave me reson to expect mischief from them, whatever others' sentiments were. . . .

— *Wait Winthrop.*

*A communication from Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioners to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada.*

[Quebec, July 24, 1714]

. . . We cannot omit telling your Lordship that the priests daily practicing with many of our young and simple people, and by a sort of force constraining of them to abide in this country, is justly resented as a thing very injurious and unworthy, and not one instance can be given of such like practice in New England, during the whole war; but they are rather helped forward and encouraged to return. We are directed to tell your Lordship, that if any of our prisoners are forcibly detained here, on any pretence, it will be a thing that cannot be paralleled in all Europe. We can only offer our opinion and reasons. Your Lordship only, at present, hath the power to determine. You may perform what you have promised us; may execute the King's orders, or vary therefrom at

your pleasure; — none can control you. We have been long sensible that (as your Lordship hath sometimes intimated) you are kept from acting your own inclination, through fear of incurring the King's displeasure, by means of complaints that may be sent to Court against you from some particular gentlemen in this country. We are of opinion that your Lordship will be much more secure by acting conformably to the rights and usages of nations, and what will be acceptable to Her Britanic Majesty, than by doing anything unjustifiable, in compliance with the humor of particular gentlemen; for, undoubtedly, Her Majesty's resentment will be of worse consequence to you than the resentment of an ecclesiastic, or any other in this country; especially when your just determinations themselves will vindicate you.

We presume your Lordship will determine matters so that they shall be to the satisfaction of your most humble servants.

J[ohn] S[toddard.]  
J[ohn] W[illiams.]

*The proposed continuance of Mr. Eliot's godly work and the counter proposal of Anglicizing the Indians with all speed in order to effect their salvation as Christians and as British subjects.*

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir, — Your Stewards and Serv<sup>ts</sup>. the Com̄isioners, to whom the hon<sup>ble</sup> Corporation for propagating the Gospel among our Indians have com̄itted a more im̄ediat and subordinate management of that Affair, we hope do, and shall observe most exactly all your Directions and with all possible conformity. Among your Directions you have

been pleased to propose a New Edition of the Indian Bible, in which your orders, if they be continued, will be religiously complied withall. . . . For the doing of which also, it will be necessary to take off those persons from their Ministry among the Indians, who are of all men the most essential to the Indian Service. In the mean time, 'tis the opinion of many, That as little Money as would be expended on a new Edition of the Bible (and not much more time) would go very far towards bringing them to be a sort of *English Generation*. It is very sure, The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicise them in all agreeable Instances; and in that of Language, as well as others. They can scarce retain their Language, without a Tincture of other Salvage Inclinations, which do but ill suit, either with the Honor, or with the design of Christianity. . . . Their Indian Tongue is a very penurious one (though the Words are long enough!) and the great things of our Holy Religion brought unto them in it, unavoidably arrive in Terms that are scarcely more intelligible to them than if they were entirely English. But the English Tongue would presently give them a Key to all our Treasures and make them the Masters of another sort of Library than any that ever will be seen in their Barbarous Linguo. And such of them as can speak English, find themselves vastly accommodated for the entertaining and communicating of Knowledge, beyond what they were before. And it is hoped, That by good English Schools among the Indians, and some other fit methods, the grand intention of Anglicising them would be soon accomplished. . . . Their Language is also continually changing; old words wearing out,

and new ones coming on. And a discreet person whom we lately employed in a visitation of the Indian Villages, inserts this as one article of his Report, about this particular matter.

“There are many words of Mr. Elliott’s forming which they never understood. This they say is a grief to them. Such a knowledge in their Bibles, as our English ordinarily have in ours, they seldom any of them have; and there seems to be as much difficulty to bring them unto a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, as it would be to get a sensible acquaintance with the English Tongue.” . . .

Being always Your Honor’s (and the Company’s) most faithfull most sincere and humble Serv<sup>t</sup>. . . .

The foregoing Representation, the original was written by Mr. Cotton Mather. Mr. Bromfield had it of his Brother Fitch, who gave it him to shew Mr. Sergeant, which he did in the Council-Chamber 9<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>., 1710. I accidentally heard Mr. Sergeant and Foster talking upon it, ask’d it of them, and Copied it out.

S[amuel] S[ewall].

*A complete plan of education and evangelization propounded by the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, in retirement among the western Indians, in which are anticipated many devices and systems employed in recent days.*

Stockbridge, Aug. 31, 1751.

Honoured Sir,

I would now give you particular information of what has lately passed relating to the Indian affair in this town, and of the present situation, circumstances and exigencies of this affair; it being absolutely

necessary that some persons of influence in the General Assembly be informed of these things. . . .

God in his providence seems now to be opening the door for the introducing the light of the gospel among these nations, wider than ever before. And if we, the English, don't fail of doing our part, there is a prospect of great things being done. And it looks as if this present season were our *now or never*. 'Tis evident the French are now exerting themselves in an extraordinary manner to draw all those nations over to them, and engage them in their interest. . . . Col. Johnson and Maj. Lydius (who probably are the best acquainted with the state of these Indians, of all the subjects of the British crown) said, in the time of the treaty at Albany, it was a gone case, and that it was a thing beyond all doubt or dispute, that unless something very extraordinary were speedily done, and what was never likely to be done, these nations were lost to the British interest. . . . They speak . . . smooth words, pleasant words to the English, but their hearts are with the French. . . .

Now 'tis remarkable that in this situation of things, the only remaining means that divine Providence hath left in our power to regain and secure the Indians in the British interest, is this very thing; viz. to our utmost, to prosecute the design of thoroughly instructing them in the true protestant religion, and educating their children in useful knowledge. . . . And now the Most High seems to be opening this door in an unusual manner. This opportunity may easily be lost by our negligence. . . .

There are many things, which, in the present situation of this affair, greatly need to be done without delay. The boarding school needs much to be

done to it. The house, furniture, and school itself should be in better order. The Indians themselves took notice of the deficiencies and irregularities. The house is in a miserable state; and much needs to be done to it to finish it. And not only so, but there is a necessity of the house being enlarged. 'Tis far from being sufficient for the accommodating an English family and necessary teachers, and boarding and lodging of the school-boys; and the house should be furnished with writing tables, seats, beds, and bed-clothes, for the children. Mean lodging will do for them; yet it should be such as that they may be kept clean and warm: and the boys should have tools for their work: and a different house should be built, to be the place where the school should be kept, at some distance from the place where they lodge and are boarded. . . . There is also a necessity of another master besides the schoolmaster, to be with the boys, and preside over them in their working hours. . . .

I would also humbly propose that a young gentleman, a scholar, a man of good genius, and fervent piety, attended with prudence, be sought for, and sent hither, as soon as possible, to be learning the Mohawk language, to fit him to be a missionary; in time to come, if need be, to go among the six nations in their own countrey: In the mean time, to be assisting in instructing the Indians and their children here, in all necessary knowledge; and teaching two or three of the forwardest and most promising of the boys, in order to their being brought up to learning, and fitted for the ministry. . . .

One of the greatest defects in the method of instruction in the schools here, is the want of more

effectual measures for the bringing the children to the English tongue. The instructions which have been given at school for 15 years past, have been in a great measure in vain for want of this. The children learn, after a sort, to read; to make such sounds, on the sight of such marks; but know nothing what they say; and having neither profit, nor entertainment by what they read, they neglect it when they leave school, and quickly lose it. There are but two ways to remedy this mischief, either the bringing in a number of English children into the school, with the Indians, or the putting the Indian children, while young, into good English families, where they shall hear nothing but English; and after they have been there a year or two, then returning them into the school here. This would be far the most effectual method. . . . But this method cannot be gone into without the care of trustees to manage it, to find proper places, to visit the children that are put out, some times, and to see how they are looked after, &c. . . .

I am, Sir, your most obliged

Humble servant,

Jonathan Edwards.

The Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Esq.

*The labours and sufferings of a pious youth and humble Christian among the savages in the wilderness, near Albany.*

Kaunaumeeck, April 30, 1743.

Dear Brother,

I should tell you, I long to see you, but my own Experience has taught me, there is no Happiness, &

plenary Satisfaction to be enjoyed, in earthly Friends, tho' ever so near and dear, or in any other Enjoyment, that is not God himself. Therefore, if the God of all Grace would be pleased graciously to afford us each his Presence and Grace, that we may perform the Work, and endure the Trials he calls us to, in a most distressing, tiresome Wilderness, 'till we arrive at our Journey's End; the local Distance, at which we are held from each other at the present, is a Matter of no great Moment or Importance to either of us. But Alas! The Presence of God is what I want.—I live in a most lonely melancholy Desert, about 18 Miles from Albany (for it was not thought best that I should go to Delaware-River, as I believe I hinted to you in a Letter from New-York.) I board with a poor Scotch-Man; His Wife can talk scarce any English. My Diet consists mostly of Hasty-Pudding, boil'd Corn, and Bread baked in the Ashes, and sometimes a little Meat and Butter. My Lodging is a little Heap of Straw, laid upon some Boards, a little Way from the Ground: For it is a Log-Room, without any Floor, that I lodge in. My Work is exceeding hard and difficult: I travel on Foot a Mile and half, the worst of Way, almost daily, and back again; for I live so far from my Indians.—I have not seen an English Person this Month.—These, and many other Circumstances, as uncomfortable, attend me; and yet my spiritual Conflicts and Distresses so far exceed all these, that I scarce think of them, or hardly mind but that I am entertain'd in the most sumptuous Manner. The Lord grant that I may learn to endure Hardness, as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ. As to my Success here, I can't say much as yet:

The Indians seem generally kind and well disposed towards me, and are mostly very attentive to my Instructions, and seem willing to be taught further; Two or three, I hope, are under some Convictions; But there seems to be little of the special workings of the divine Spirit among them yet; which gives me many a Heart-sinking Hour. . . . But let us always remember, that we must through much Tribulation enter into God's eternal Kingdom of Rest and Peace. The Righteous are scarcely saved: Tis an infinite Wonder, that we have well grounded Hopes of being saved at all. For my Part, I feel the most vile of any Creature living; and I am sure sometimes, there is not such another existing on this Side Hell. . . . So, wishing and praying that you may advance in Learning and Grace, and be fit for special Service for God, I remain

Your affectionate Brother,  
D[avid] Brainerd.



Of Trade and Commerce, Manufactures and Voyages,  
and of the Money necessary thereunto.



*A reply to the Manhattans in the fort Amsterdam, in which trade and commerce are considered and complimentary titles are repudiated.*

To the Honoured, &c.

The Gove<sup>r</sup> & Counsell of New-Plim: wisheth, &c. We have received your leters, &c. wherein appeareth your good wills & frendship towards us; but is expressed w<sup>th</sup> over high titls, more than belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive. But for your good will, and congratulations of our prosperitie in these smale beginings of our poore colonie, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks doe acknowledg y<sup>e</sup> same; taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certaine testimoney of your love and good neighbourhood. . . .

Likewise for your freindly tender, & offer to acomodate and help us with any comodities or marchandise you have, or shall come to you, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, it is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time we may have profitable comerce & trade togeather. But for this year we are fully supplied with all necessaries, both for cloathing and other things; but hereafter it is like we shall deale with you, if your rates be reasonable. And therfore when you please to send to us againe by any of yours, we desire to know how you will take beaver, by y<sup>e</sup> pounce, & otters, by y<sup>e</sup> skine; and how you will deale per cent. for other comodities, and what you can furnishe us with. As likewise what other commodities from us may be acceptable

unto you, as tobaco, fish, corne, or other things, and what prises you will give, &c.

Thus hoping that you will pardon & excuse us for our rude and imperfecte writing in your language, and take it in good parte, because for wante of use we cannot so well express that we understand, nor hapily understand every thing so fully as we should. And so we humbly pray the Lord for his mercie sake, that he will take both us and you into his keeping & gracious protection.

By y<sup>e</sup> Gove<sup>r</sup> and Counsell of New-Plimoth,

Your Wor<sup>pps</sup> very good friends & neighbours, &c.  
New-Plim: March 19. [1627]

*The grievous complications into which the Plymouth colony was forced and the righteous punishment meted out to the offender.*

[1631]

In these accounts of M<sup>r</sup>. Sherley's some things were obscure, and some things twice charged, as 100. of Bastable ruggs which came in y<sup>e</sup> Friendship, & cost 75<sup>li</sup>., charged before by M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton, and now by him againe, with other perticulers of like nature doubtfull, to be twice or thrise charged; as also a sume of 600<sup>li</sup>. which M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton deneyed, and they could never understand for what it was. They sent a note of these & such like things afterward to M<sup>r</sup>. Sherley by M<sup>r</sup>. Winslow; but (I know not how it came to pass) could never have them explained.

Into these deepe sumes had M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton rune them in tow years, for in y<sup>e</sup> later end of y<sup>e</sup> year 1628. all their debts did not amounte to much above 400<sup>li</sup>., as was then noted; and now come to so many

thousands. And whereas in y<sup>e</sup> year 1629, M<sup>r</sup>. Sherley & M<sup>r</sup>. Hatherley being at Bristoll, and write a large letter from thence, in which they had given an account of y<sup>e</sup> debts, and what sumes were then disbursed, M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton never left begging & intreating of them till they had put it out. So they bloted out 2. lines in y<sup>t</sup> letter in which y<sup>e</sup> sumes were contained, and write upon it so as not a word could be received; as since by them was confessed, and by y<sup>e</sup> leters may be seene. And thus were they kept hoodwinckte, till now they were so deeply ingaged. And whereas M<sup>r</sup>. Sherley did so earnestly press y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton might be sent over to finish y<sup>e</sup> great bussines aboute y<sup>e</sup> patente, as may be seen in his leter write 1629. as is before recorded, and y<sup>t</sup> they should be earnest w<sup>th</sup> his wife to suffer him to goe, &c., he hath since confessed by a letter under my hands, that it was M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton's owne doings, and not his, and he made him write his words, & not his owne. The patent was but a pretence, and not y<sup>e</sup> thing. Thus were they abused in their simplicitie, and no better then bought & sold, as it may seeme.

And to mend y<sup>e</sup> matter, M<sup>r</sup>. Allerton doth in a sorte wholly now deserte them; having brought them into y<sup>e</sup> briers, he leaves them to gett out as they can. But God crost him mightily, for he having hired y<sup>e</sup> ship of M<sup>r</sup>. Sherly at 30<sup>li</sup>. a month, he set forth againe with a most wicked and drunken crue, and for covetousnes sake did so over lade her, not only filling her hould, but so stufed her betweene decks, as she was walte, and could not bear sayle, and they had like to have been cast away at sea, and were forced to put for Millford Havene, and newstow her, & put some of ther ordnance & more heavie

goods in y<sup>e</sup> botome; which lost them time, and made them come late into y<sup>e</sup> countrie, lose their season, and made a worse viage then y<sup>e</sup> year before. But being come into y<sup>e</sup> countrie, he sells trading comodities to any y<sup>t</sup> will buy, to y<sup>e</sup> great prejudice of y<sup>e</sup> plantation here; but that which is worse, what he could not sell, he trustes; and sets up a company of base felows and maks them traders, to rune into every hole, & into y<sup>e</sup> river of Kenebeck, to gleane away y<sup>e</sup> trade from y<sup>e</sup> house ther, aboute y<sup>e</sup> patente & priviledge whereof he had dasht away so much money of theirs here; and now what in him lay went aboute to take away y<sup>e</sup> benefite thereof, and to overthrow them. . . .

—*William Bradford.*

*Even on their voyage hither the Massachusetts settlers do not escape knavery and sharp dealing.*

[May 21, 1630]

A servant of one of our company had bargained with a child to sell him a box worth 3*d.* for three biscuits a day all the voyage, and had received about forty, and had sold them and many more to some other servants. We caused his hands to be tied up to a bar, and hanged a basket with stones about his neck, and so he stood for two hours.

—*John Winthrop.*

*The beginning of the merchant marine on these coasts and the resultant discord.*

[July 4, 1631]

The governour built a bark at Mistick, which was launched this day, and called the Blessing of the Bay.

—*John Winthrop.*

September 6, 1631. . . . About this time last year the company here set forth a pinnace to the parts about Cape Cod, to trade for corn, and it brought here above eighty bushels. This year again the Salem pinnace, being bound thither for corn, was, by contrary winds, put into Plimouth, where the governour, &c. fell out with them, not only forbidding them to trade, but also telling them they would oppose them by force, even to the spending of their lives, &c.; whereupon they returned, and acquainting the governour of Massachusetts with it, he wrote to the governour of Plimouth.

—*John Winthrop.*

*Sundry voyages and the profits accruing therefrom.*

Sir,—Touching my journey to Ile of Sholes to buy 80 hogsheads of prouission, when I came I fownd noe such thinge as vnto me for trueth was reported: to procure 8 hogsheads of bread I was fayne to lay out one hundred pownds in rugs & coates vnnecessarily: and for pease I goott but 1 hgshead &  $\frac{1}{2}$ , whereof I sowed certain bushells. Had things beene free at the coming in of this vessell, I would haue had a greater share of what she brought, yett I confesse, as matters hath beene carried, I haue not ought against that which hath beene donne. . . . Concerning the Bermuda Voyadge, and accompting the potatoes at 2*d.* the corne at 9*s.* per bushell, the pork at 10*li.* per hogshead, orrengees & lemons at 20*s.* per c, wee two shall gaine twenty od pownds. Now that accompt cleared & the cattell wintring paid for, there will not be much coming vnto yow of

the 80 od pownds I borrowed of yow. I shalbe ready at any time to advance soe much mony to steede yow, with thanks, yf your occasions shall require it. I sallute you respectyuely with my loue. I commend you to the guydaunce & protection of the Lord Jesus, and doe rest, in som hast,

Your assured loueing & ready to be comanded

Thomas Mayhew.

Meadefoard this 22th of the 2d moneth, 1636:

[Boston, Dec. 8, 1649]

S<sup>r</sup>.—Youeres by Josophe Wise I receaued, & allso annother letter datted 20 of Novembr. I and my wife give you many thanks for your kind tokenes. Conserving your bill of exchange I have spoken with M<sup>r</sup>. Alene and some otheres. If the pay weer all wheat and malte he wold vndertake it but not otherwise, but the but[c]her saith he is to pay a good quantity in peac & boter, which is not so curent at this time, but I suppose it will procure a bill by way of Newfoundland, in the spring; not with standing I shall doe what I can by this shipp, if any way may be that is shuer. . . .

—*Adam Winthrop.*

Mr. Nathaniel Dwight.

Sir,—Am in hopes you will sell that pickled Bass well for understand that its much enquired after in the West Indies; dont know butt itt may goe of in the lieu of Salmon; pleas to send the effects in good Rum 4 or 5 hogsetts if the mony hold outt; doubt not butt

rum will be very cheap next summer: if the mony hold outt send a barrell or two of shopp sugar and 3 or 4 sugar loves, if to be had reasonable, withoutt Master order you otherwise.

Boston, N. E., Nov. 26, 1687.

—Samuel Sewall.

*An early statement of a grievance destined to be big with import.*

Boston, Dec. 22, 1677.

To Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley.

Gent.,—I kindly and most humbly salute you, and daily desire to remember you at the Throne of Grace, and hope you will experience the many prayers here put up for you; and that we all shall find that the Lord intends to do good to this poor country, whatever trials he exercises us with. Gent., you have now an opportunity, which, it may be, you will not have again the like, to supplicate the king's majesty's grace and favor, and also the Parliament's, for these two things for this poor country, that we may not be oppressed in the exercise of the new religion, nor in our trade. If that we send our fish to Bilboa, and carry the produce thereof into the Straits, at great charge and hazard, and procure fruits, oil, soap, wine, and salt (the bulk of our loadings salt, because that most necessary for us, and always ready to be had at Cadiz); and because we have little of the other goods, for our necessity calls not for much,—we must go to England to pay his majesty's customs; which is as the cutting off our hands and feet as to our trade: we must neither do

nor walk any more; but this orphan plantation will be crushed. If we carry our provisions, which we have raised with great difficulty, because of long winters, &c., to the West Indies, we pay custom for our cotton, wool, and sugar there; and the bulk of them are sent to England again from hence, and pay custom there a second time. If we might have liberty for our vessels only to trade into the Straits, or a certain number of them every year, though it were but two or three ships in a year, to supply the country with such necessities as those parts afford; but, for this so remote plantation to be punctually bound up to the acts of trade relating to England, methinks, if represented to a gracious sovereign and compassionate parliament, such a poor orphan plantation might have some exemption from the severity of those acts of trade.

Gent., I have sent you in this ship, — the “Blessing,” John Phillips master, — eighteen hundred and sixty codfish. There is about seven hundred of them very large fish, between two and three feet long; the other under two feet: they are well salted down in the ship’s bread-room. Also ten barrels of cranberries and three barrels of samp, as, by the invoice and bills of lading enclosed, you will see more particularly.

Eighteen hundred and sixty codfish, whereof the very large fish cost, with all charges on board £35 10s.0d.  
 Ten barrels of cranberries..... 6 0 0  
 Three barrels of samp..... 7 0 0

John Hull, *Treasurer.*

*The need of a custom house at Plymouth and the danger of neglect.*

*To Sir Robert Walpole.*

Hono<sup>ble</sup> Sir, — As you have the honour to preside at the Treasury Board, I think it my duty to acquaint your Honour that we have a port & a good harbour in this Province call'd Plimouth, about 40 miles southeast from this place, where is a considerable trade & resort of navigation, and the seacoast from Plimouth extends away southward near 100 miles in which compass there are a number of good towns and harbours, and the people there have apply'd to me for a King's Custom House to be erected at Plimouth, where there is the most trade of any in that part of the Province, and the inhabitants along that shore have thôt it a great fatigue & inconvenience to come hither to enter & clear every vessel on that coast that goes upon a foreign voyage; and since the act past the last session of Parliament respecting the sugar colonies, I have thôt it wou'd not only be for the ease of his Majesty's subjects in those parts of this Province, but tend to the safety of his Majesty's revenue to have a Custom House settl'd at the town of Plimouth; otherwise I have good reason to think that harbour with many others near it will be made use of to elude the act prohibiting trade with the French & other foreign colonies, and be made great use of to carry on illegal & clandestine trade, to the great damage of the Crown & of all fair traders. . . .

Your Honour will please to pardon this interrup-

tion, & believe me to be with all possible duty & respect, Sir,

Your most faithful, most devoted & most humble servant.

J[onathan] B[elcher].

Boston, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 3, 1733.

*The humble beginnings of manufactures and their growth throughout the provinces, likewise some special pleading for subsidies and bounties.*

[June 12, 1643]

Our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from Barbados, and of hemp and flax, wherein Rowley, to their great commendation, exceeded all other towns.

— *John Winthrop.*

March 14, 1655-6. Twenty persons, or about such a number, did agree to raise a stock to procure a house and materials to improve the children and youth of the town of Boston (which want employment) in several manufactures.

— *John Hull.*

*To the Lords of Trade.*

. . . My Lords, in Sept<sup>r</sup> last I reċd two letters from M<sup>r</sup> Seċry Popple of 10 of June, both of one tenour, respecting an Address from the Hono<sup>ble</sup> the House of Commons to his Majesty, praying he wou'd

give directions to the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations to prepare a representation to be laid before the House as to the state of his Majesty's Colonies in America, with respect to laws made, manufactures set up, & trade carry'd on, which may affect the trade, navigation & manufactures of G<sup>t</sup> Britain; and that I wou'd give you Lordships the best & most particular acc<sup>tt</sup> I cou'd in these matters. In obedience to this order, my Lords, I have been informing myself as fully as I cou'd, and must begin & say; as to the Massachusetts Province, I find no laws in force for encouraging the produce or manufactures of the country, excepting two, — one to encourage the raising of hemp (made the 12 of G. 1), which gives a bounty of 29/ for every 112<sup>lbs</sup> brought to the market, and 7/ pcent more in case the quantity of 224<sup>lbs</sup> be rais'd by one person at one time; the other (made 1 & 2 G. 2) to encourage the raising of flax, and gives a bounty of 8/8 for every 112<sup>lbs</sup> brought to the market & 4/8 pcent in case the quantity of 224<sup>lbs</sup> be rais'd by one person at one time. Besides the above mentioned acts, there are also two resolves for allowing a bounty of 20/ to all persons (and 10/ more to John Powell, the first undertaker) for every peice of duck or canvas by them made under such qualifications as in the said resolve is particularly exprest (which were past the 12 of G. 1 & 1 of G. 2). There are some other manufactures carry'd on here, as the making brown holland for women's ware, and makes the importation of callicoes and some other India goods so much the less. There are also small quantities of cloth made of linnen & cotton for ordinary shirting & sheeting. About three years ago a paper mill was set up, which

makes about £200 st<sup>r</sup> a year of that commodity. There are several forges for making of barr iron, and some furnaces for cast iron (or hollow ware), and one slitting mill, the undertaker of which carries on the manufacture of nails. As to the woollen manufacture, there is no law here to encourage it, and the country people who us'd to make most of their cloathing out of their own wool don't now make a third part of what they wear, but are mostly cloath'd with British manufactures.

As to the Province of N. Hampshire, the only laws that I find affecting the trade, navigation, or manufactures of G<sup>t</sup> Britain are an act (past many years ago) imposing a duty, for the supply of his Majesty's Fort William & Mary at the entrance of Piscataqua River with powder, on all shipping trading to and from the said Province, and not own'd within the same, which duty is one pound of good gunpowder (or two shillings) a tun. Another act intitled An Act for encouraging Iron Works in the Province, & which prohibits the exportation of iron ore. . . . The woollen manufacture in the Province is much less than formerly, the common lands on which sheep us'd to feed being now divided into particular proprieties. The number of them is much reduc'd, and the people almost wholly cloath'd with woollen from Great Britain. The manufacturing of flax into linnen (some coarser, some finer) daily increases, by the great resort of people from Ireland into this Province who are well skill'd in that business. The chief trade of the Province continues (as for many years past) in the exportation of masts, yards, bowsprits, boards, staves, & rafters for England, but principally to

Spain & Portugal, & some to the Charrible Islands, with lumber & refuse fish, and the better sort of fish to Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c<sup>a</sup>. Some sloops & small vessells go in the winter (with English & West India goods) to Virginia, Maryland, & Carolina, & return with corn & flesh. These are the best informations I can give in these articles at present, and your Lordships will be the best judges how far these things do or may affect the trade, navigation, or manufactures of G<sup>t</sup> Britain, and as I learn anything new worth your Lordships' notice I shall faithfully transmit it. . . . My Lords,

Your Lordships' most faithful & most humble servant.

J[onathan] B[elcher].

Boston, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4, 1731.

*To Mr. Secretary Alured Popple.*

. . . The Massachusetts is, I suppose, the largest and most peopled of any of the King's dominions in America, yet the people are in no proportion to the extent of their land, which in consequence renders the labour of handicrafts and all others scarce and dear, and in order to make this country serviceable to the mother kingdom it is necessary that they had from her some sutable encouragments, as premiums, &c., to ingage the inhabitants in raising and manufacturing those things that are natural to the soil and climate, and are not the common product of Great Britain.

There has been discover'd this last year in this Province at a place called Houssetunnuc, about 140

miles from this place, a great quantity of rock iron ore, very rich, and in a few months since in the town of Attleborough, about 30 miles off, another discovery of same nature; and some copper and lead mines are also found. Good hemp may be raised in this Province, and barilla (or potash), — we having great plenty of oaks and fern bushes and brakes, and the seashores lin'd with kelp; and these last, I am told, are the best materials to produce good potash. If their Lordships think proper to propose the sending over at the charge of the Crown some few head men well skill'd in raising and manufacturing hemp and potashes, and to give a bounty upon them and on copper, or the ore, and so on the other ores or metall's I have mentioned, I have no doubt but the advantage wou'd soon center to the mother kingdom by the good returns wou'd be found for the manufactures that come from thence. This country is also capable of pitch, tarr, & turpentine, and by the former Act for encouraging these things, the bounty allow'd being much greater than in the present Act, the trade was carried on here to some little profit, but since that Act expired there has been a constant loss in that trade, more especially to the merchants in London. As to tarr, the people here can't be induced to make it wholly of green wood, the labour being so great that it cannot be done so as that the people can save themselves in doing it, and altho' the tarr made of pine knots is too hot for cordage, yet it is esteemed as good as any for other uses; so that if the former Act for incouraging those products were revived I conceive it might be of advantage both to the Crown and to the merchants to make these plantations further serviceable to the Crown

of Great Britain by taking of greater quantities of British manufactures. They must still be nurst & nourisht by bounties, &c., and Great Britain will finally receive back such bounties double into her own bosom. . . .

Your most obedient, hum<sup>l</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>.

J[onathan] B[elcher].

Boston, Nov<sup>r</sup> 6, 1734.

*The occasion of the establishment of the first mint.*

1652. Also upon occasion of much counterfeit coin brought in the country, and much loss accruing in that respect (and that did occasion a stoppage of trade), the General Court ordered a mint to be set up, and to coin it, bringing it to the sterling standard for fineness, and for weight every shilling to be three pennyweight; i. e., 9*d.* at 5*s.* per 3. And they made choice of me for that employment; and I chose my friend, Robert Sanderson, to be my partner, to which the Court consented.

— John Hull.

*The sad confusion consequent on the emission of bills of credit.*

1712, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 3. . . . I was at making of the first Bills of Credit in the year 1690: They were not made for want of Money; but for want of Money in the Treasury. If the Government pass this Act, they Co<sup>m</sup>and & Compell men to Lend them that value. . . .

If money be wanting, Twere a better expedient to oblige Creditors to take Wheat, Indian Corn, Salt,

Iron, Wool at a moderat valuation, as twas of old: Then there would be *Quid pro Quo*; whereas now privat Creditors are forc'd to take the publick Faith for payment for their Commodity. The Merchants that complain of the scarcity of Money, tis they that have sent it away, & do send it away.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

*To the Lords of Trade.*

. . . The bills the Assemblies have issu'd here for many years past are not now worth five shillings in the pound of the currant silver money of the Province as by law establisht; and had it not been for his Majesty's 16 instruction I suppose there had been emitted by this time by the Assemblies of this Province as much paper currency as would have been half a million of nominal pounds, and wou'd have reduc'd their value to less than half a crown in the pound of the good & lawful money of the Province, which is seventeen pennyweight of silver to pass for six shillings. What a fraud & deceit then must emissions of such kinds of bills of cr. be? . . . It cannot easily be imagin'd, my Lords, how vastly the British trade hither has suffer'd from time to time by this vile sort of bills. While the Assemblies here issu'd bills onely for the charge of the government, and punctually drew them in within the year of their going out, they maintained the value they went out at, but when they went into the practice of emitting great sums on loan, & of setting the calling in of what they emitted for the charge of the government at long periods, they immediately sunk in their value. . . .

I do, my Lords, think myself bound in duty to the King, & in tenderness to his people, to represent the state of this Province as it really is at this day, & shall be glad of any further orders his Majesty may think necessary for his own honour & for the good of his people. I believe I have formerly hinted to your Lordships the vast damage that accrues to the British trade, & indeed to his Maj<sup>y</sup>'s subjects also in these provinces, by some of the Charter governments (who are not directly as others under the power of the Crown) emitting large sums of paper currency without any foundation to support their value; and the little neighbouring Colony of Rhode Island have by their large emissions of such bills greatly contributed to the sinking the value of all the bills of c<sup>r</sup> issu'd in this Province. I would therefore humbly propose to your Lordships that a bill might be brought into the Parliament of Great Britain, with proper penalties, forbidding all the King's provinces & colonies in America from striking any more bills of credit than might be sufficient for defraying the charge of each government where they might be emitted, & that sufficient provision be made in the act whereby they are emitted for calling them in within the year in which they go out. This would naturally give them a value as they are passing. . . .

Your Lordships' most obedient & most humble  
serv<sup>t</sup>.

Boston, Octob<sup>r</sup> 24, 1739.

J[onathan] B[elcher].

May it please your Lordships, — The 24 of last month I transmitted to your Lordships the particular account of the paper currency of this Province, from

the year 1702 to 1738, the duplicate whereof I now inclose to your Lordships, whereby you will presently see what difference arose in the value of the paper currency between the years above mention'd, viz<sup>t</sup>, above 300 pcent in the exch<sup>a</sup> between Great Britain & this Province. For in 1702, £136 in paper currency would purchase £100; but in 1738, £500 paper currency would not purchase £100 st<sup>r</sup>. This alone must feelingly demonstrate to all that have given C<sup>r</sup> to these bills that they have been issu'd upon a false foundation, & so they have been & are one constant fraud & cheat upon all persons that have given them a C<sup>r</sup>. . . . & another misfortune that has done & does attend the trade here is the giving C to the bills emitted by the Governm<sup>t</sup> of Rhode Island, of which they have made great quantities. The last year they emitted £100,000, & gave 20 years for the calling it in, & altho' this government made a law against its passing, yet the people of this Province constantly take them. . . . I had almost forgot to say to your Lordships that upon a narrow scrutiny of the Charter of this Province I don't think there can be found the least power or liberty for the Assembly to strike & issue bills of credit to pass in lieu of money, especially such as have not a fixt unalterable value, & perhaps on an examination of the charters of all the other colonies, it may be found they have been mistaken in the exercise of such a power. . . .

I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lords,

Your Lordships' most obed<sup>t</sup> & most h. serv<sup>t</sup>.

J[onathan] B[elcher].

Boston, January 14, 1739/40.

Governour Belcher *describes to the Duke of Chandos the details of land rental and leases.*

As I have been & am concern'd in settling wild lands in this country, I take the freedom to inclose to your Grace a copy of one of my leases, the charge whereof to me was about £80 st<sup>r</sup>; but some settlements I am now designing to bring forward will be thus, — A farm of 200 acres, with only a small house & barn (no living stock or utensils), and such a house & barn may cost about £30 st<sup>r</sup>, & I wou'd make a lease of 14 years. The tenant to be oblig'd in the term thorroly to subdue & bring to English grass (fit for the scythe) 40 acres of land, without ever breaking the sward, for we esteem one acre so brôt to worth 2 or 3 done by the plow; the landlord must find the grass seed for the land as it's wanted. For corn land we allow the tenant to break up what may be necessary, in such places as the landlord directs, and it's best he shou'd be restrain'd from exceeding three crops from any one spot, and then to lay it down according to the rules of good husbandry to English grass. The first tenants we get to our wild lands are commonly poor and often unfaithfull, and turn the quick stock put into their hands into money, & make off; that of late (& so for the future) I settle none but in the manner I now mention, and generally look for a man with a wife & children, who are able to go thorro such a lease as I now propose, upon which your Grace's charge (as before) will be about £30 st<sup>r</sup>.

*Somewhat of importunity in personal matters.*

*To Rev. Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich.*

[March 5, 1679-80]

Sir, — I have patiently and a long time waited, in hopes that you would have sent me some part of the money which I, in such a friendly manner, parted with to supply your necessities, and which you so firmly and frequently promised me that I should never lose by so doing; but I experimentally find that I have waited and hoped in vain. I did indeed think that the ministerial calling you had given up yourself unto did oblige me for to be willing to help you; and I did also think it would oblige you for to be very true and just in your performance to me. Sir, I do entreat you more seriously to consider thereof. I have been very slow, hitherto, to sue you at the law, because of that dishonor that will thereby come to God by your failure; but, if you make no great matter of it, I shall take myself bound to make use of that help which God and the country have provided for my just indemnity. Sir, I told you I was willing to remit the great advantage that protested bills of exchange would, in the way of law, allow unto me, and be content with six in the hundred for the forbearance of my money; whereas, had you performed your covenant to me, I had made thirty pounds on the hundred, which is to me a very considerable loss. Sir, your personal debt unto me (besides Mr. John Hubbard's obligation) is three hundred forty-seven pounds five shillings, which if you will please to render in unto me, or any consider-

able part thereof, speedily in money, and give me bond, with good personal security, for the rest, to pay me in some reasonable time, and five pounds in the hundred for the forbearance, truly and justly paid to me every six months, and until it be paid, and as you shall lessen the principal, so I to abate on the interest, I will yet sit down contented, though it be much to my damage. But if you do not this, or some other thing that is honest, just and rational, I think you may expect to be called to our next County Court, which I think is the last Tuesday in April next; and I suppose, sir, you cannot but hold me excused, as doing nothing but what yourself do force me unto. In the meanwhile, I wait to see what you will please to do, and remain your loving friend,

John Hull.

*To Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Williams of Barbados.*

Dec. 3, 1700.

Sir, — I presume the old verse, *si ter pulsanti, nemo respondet, abito*, Is not to be understood of Creditors in demanding their just debts. The Tenth year is now current since I lent you Ten pounds, meerly out of respect to you as a Stranger and a Scholar: you having then met with disappointment p the loss of effects sent for your support. You have written to me that you would not let my kindness rot under the clods of Ingratitude. But there has been hitherto *Vox*, and *præterea nihil*. I am come again to knock at your door, to enquire if any Ingenuity or honor dwell there. Not doubting but

that if there doe, I shall reap benefit by it, and that you will pay to my order the Money which I sent you gratis, July 23, 1691, Of which I have not yet received one penny. Wherefore I desire and order you to pay it to Mr. Conrade Adams of your Island, or to Mr. James Taylor of this place, who now goes Factor to Barbados in Capt. Boner. The Receipt of either of those Gentlemen shall be to you a sufficient Discharge from

Sir, your friend and Servt.

Sam. Sewall.

Of Travel and Communication: their Dangers and  
Difficulties.



*A proposal for the maintenance of a monthly post between New York and Boston, being the first attempt of this kind.*

For the Honorable John Wintrop, Esq., Governor of his Majesty's Colony of Coneticutt, and Hartford, these. Post-paid.—F. Louelace.

Fort James, 27th December, 1672.

Dear Sir, — I here presented you with two rarities, — a packet of the latest intelligence I could meet withal, and a post. By the first you will see what has been acted on the stage of Europe; by the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply, so that if it receive but the same ardent inclinations from you as first it had from myself, by our monthly advices all public occurrences may be transmitted betwixt us, together with several other great conveniences of public importance, consonant to the commands laid upon us by his Sacred Majesty, who strictly enjoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondency with each other. . . . This person that has undertaken this employment I conceived most proper, being both active, stout, and indefatigable. He is sworn as to his fidelity. I have affixed an annual salary on him, which, together with the advantage of his letters and other small portable packs, may afford him a handsome livelihood. Hartford is the first stage I have designed him to change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh one lie ledger. All the letters outward shall be delivered gratis, with a signification

of post-paid on the superscription, and reciprocally we expect all to us free. Each first Monday of the month he sets out from New York, and is to return within the month from Boston to us again. The mail has diverse bags, according to the towns the letters are designed to, which are all sealed up, till their arrivement, with the seal of the Secretary's office, whose care it is on Saturday night to seal them up; only by-letters are in an open bag, to disperse by the way. . . . It would be much advantageous to our design if in the interval you discourse with some of the most able woodmen to make out the best and most facile way for a post, which in process of time would be the King's best highway, as likewise passages and accommodation at rivers, fords, or other necessary places. . . . I am, with all respect, your very affectionate friend,

Fra. Lovelace.

*The strange adventures of Madam Sarah Knight, "a fearful female traveller," hazarding alone the long journey from Boston to New York.*

Tuesday, October y<sup>e</sup> third, [1704] about 8 in the morning, I with the Post proceeded forward without observing any thing remarkable; And about two, afternoon, Arrived at the Post's second stage, where the western Post mett him and exchanged Letters. Here, having called for something to eat, y<sup>e</sup> woman bro't in a Twisted thing like a cable, but something whiter; and laying it on the bord, tugg'd for life to bring it into a capacity to spread; w<sup>ch</sup> having w<sup>th</sup> great pains accomplished, shee serv'd in a dish of

Pork and Cabage, I suppose the remains of Dinner. The sause was of a deep Purple, w<sup>ch</sup> I tho't was boil'd in her dye Kettle; the bread was Indian, and every thing on the Table service Agreeable to these. I, being hungry, gott a little down; but my stomach was soon cloy'd, and what cabbage I swallowed serv'd me for a Cudd the whole day after.

Having here discharg'd the Ordnary for self and Guide, (as I understood was the custom,) About Three afternoon went on with my Third Guide, who Rode very hard; and having cross'd Providence Ferry, we come to a River w<sup>ch</sup> they Generally Ride thro.' But I dare not venture; so the Post got a Ladd and a Cannoo to carry me to tother side, and hee rid thro' and Led my Hors. The Cannoo was very small and shallow, so that when we were in she seem'd redy to take in water, which greatly terrified mee, and caus'd me to be very circumspect, sitting with my hands fast on each side, my eyes stedy, not daring so much as to lodg my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than tother, nor so much as to think on Lott's wife, for a wry thought would have oversett our wherey: But was soon put out of this pain, by feeling the Cannoo on shore, w<sup>ch</sup> I as soon almost saluted with my feet; and Rewarding my sculler, again mounted and made the best of our way forwards. . . .

Wee Rode on Very deliberately a few paces, when we entred a Thickett of Trees and Shrubbs, and I perceived by the Hors's going, we were on the descent of a Hill, w<sup>ch</sup>, as wee come neerer the bottom, 'twas totaly dark w<sup>th</sup> the Trees that surrounded it. But I knew by the Going of the Hors wee had entred the water, w<sup>ch</sup> my Guide told mee was the hazzardos

River he had told me off; and hee, Riding up close to my Side, Bid me not fear — we should be over Imediatly. I now ralyed all the Courage I was mistriss of, Knowing that I must either Venture my fate of drowning, or be left like y<sup>e</sup> Children in the wood. So, as the Post bid me, I gave Reins to my Nagg; and sitting as Stedy as Just before in the Cannoo, in a few minutes got safe to the other side, which hee told mee was the Narragansett country.

Here We found great difficulty in Travailing, the way being very narrow, and on each side the Trees and bushes gave us very unpleasant welcomes w<sup>th</sup> their Branches and bow's, w<sup>ch</sup> wee could not avoid, it being so exceeding dark. My Guide, as before so now, putt on harder than I, w<sup>th</sup> my weary bones, could follow; so left mee and the way beehind him. Now Returned my distressed apprehensions of the place where I was: the dolesome woods, my Company next to none, Going I knew not whither, and encompassed w<sup>th</sup> Terrifying darkness; The least of which was enough to startle a more Masculine courage. Added to which the Reflections, as in the afternoon of y<sup>e</sup> day that my Call was very Questionable, w<sup>ch</sup> till then I had not so Prudently as I ought considered. Now, coming to y<sup>e</sup> foot of a hill, I found great difficulty in ascending; But being got to the Top, was there amply recompenced with the friendly Appearance of the Kind Conductress of the night, Just then Advancing above the Horisontall Line. . . . Being come to mr. Havens,' I was very civilly Received, and courteously entertained, in a clean comfortable House; and the Good woman was very active in helping off my Riding clothes, and then ask't what I would eat. I told her I had some Choco-

lett, if shee would prepare it; which with the help of some Milk, and a little clean brass Kettle, she soon effected to my satisfaction. I then betook me to my Apartment, w<sup>ch</sup> was a little Room parted from the Kitchen by a single bord partition; where, after I had noted the Occurances of the past day, I went to bed, which, tho' pretty hard, Yet neet and hand-some. But I could get no sleep, because of the Clamor of some of the Town tope-ers in next Room, Who were entred into a strong debate concerning y<sup>e</sup> Signification of the name of their country, (viz.) *Narraganset*. . . . I heartily fretted, and wish't 'um tongue tyed. . . . They kept calling for tother Gill, w<sup>ch</sup> while they were swallowing, was some Intermission; But presently, like Oyle to fire, encreased the flame. I set my Candle on a Chest by the bed side, and setting up, fell to my old way of composing my Resentments, in the following manner:

I ask thy Aid, O Potent Rum!  
To Charm these wrangling Topers Dum.  
Thou hast their Giddy Brains possest —  
The man confounded w<sup>th</sup> the Beast —  
And I, poor I, can get no rest.  
Intoxicate them with thy fumes:  
O still their Tongues till morning comes!

And I know not but my wishes took effect; for the dispute soon ended w<sup>th</sup> 'tother Dram; and so Good night! . . .

*The uncertainties and dangers of travel by coach from Boston to New London and grandfatherly solicitude regarding the safety of the children.*

Groton, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1711.

Dear Son, — Since I wrote by the post I am very doubtfull about bringing the coach over to Narraganset, and whether it be possible to get it along, and if any thing should break, espetically a wheele or axletre, remote from any habitation, what would becom of the poore children, how would they be got hither? However, I haue sent Anthony with the horses, that are poorer by halfe then when thay came hither. Also a spare hors for your mother, supposing you haue brought sidesadle or pillion, or must beg or borrow, for I can get none here. Anthonye's hors is very sober, and goes easy. If Brill driues the coach, he must see that the wheels and axeltre be well greased, least it heat and burn off. You must be sure that every thing be sound, and that the coachman be not in drink. However, if it be a fair wind and a likely opertunity, its best to advise whether it be not best to com in the vessell; if the vessell be not here as soon or before you, I know not what you will do for entertainment. If I could hear you com by land, I would meet you on the roade; pray be very carfull and considerate, and be advised by those that may know. I pray God be with you, blesse, preserue, and keep you all. If you com not in the coach, the harness may go back in it.

Your loving father,  
W. Winthrop.

New London, July 26<sup>t</sup>, 1711.

Dear Son, — . . . I know not what you will all do here before your things com, so much as for one day or night; I know not how you will all com in the Gov<sup>rs</sup>. coach, and if a wheele or axeltre brake in the woods, how will the children get to any shelter? There had need haue been two coaches; I am afraid of the axeltre of our coach. Whatever coms must be veiued well in all parts, and the wheelles well gresed, least the axeltre burn off with the constant motion, and when all is said and don, if the wind and season be fair so that you may get here in one day, it may be best to advise whether it be not safest to com in the gally or sloop from Road Island. . . . If it be possible, you must bring a barrill of good pork, or you cannot subsist; here's none to be had here on any termes. Here will be nothing but mut-ton, and for a family to liue wholly on that will be difficult. . . . My servis to every body.

Your louing father,  
W. Winthrop.

Groton, Aug<sup>st</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, 1711.

Dear Son, — I am greatly distressed about your getting safe hither, and see almost an impossibility for a coach to get hither with children, or indeed without. . . . Thay tell me the coach cannot get over the wadeing place between Boston Neck and Petaquomscut at low water without being wett, which Anthony will enquire as he goes over there. . . I know of no bad place between Seconk road and M<sup>r</sup> Vpdickes. There is good going over Patuxet River at the wares one mile aboue Staffords, and was the way we always went formerly, espetially

when the river was up, and is a great cart-road without bankes of either side, or hills to goe up or down; and if Blackstons be low, that is. But the great difficulty will be a little on this side Greenmans, nere Point Jude ponds and between Jo. Stantons and Pacatuck River, and from thence hither; and if any thing should break, what can be don with the children? It will be difficult to bring them on horseback, if there were men and horses ready. . . If you com by land thay must alight out of the coach at all difficult places, and you must get some good pilate that knows the cart-ways well. I pray God to direct you for the best, and bless and keepe you all.

Your loving father,  
W. Winthrop.

If your mother be with you, be carefull of her and hear her advice.

Of Holidays and Merrymakings: a few encouraged  
but most discountenanced as unbecoming  
Professors of Religion.



*Certain infamous rioters and the discredit they brought  
on Massachusetts Bay.*

[1628]

. . . After this they fell to great licentiousness, and led a dissolute life, powering out them selves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a scoole of Athisme. And after they had gott some good into their hands, and gott much by trading with y<sup>e</sup> Indeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing & drinking both wine & strong waters in great exsess, and, as some reported, 10<sup>li</sup>. worth in a morning. They allso set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing aboute it many days togeather, inviting the Indean women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking together, (like so many fairies, or furies rather,) and worse practises. As if they had anew revived & celebrated the feasts of y<sup>e</sup> Roman Goddes Flora, or y<sup>e</sup> beasly practises of y<sup>e</sup> madd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to shew his poetrie) composed sundry rimes & verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to y<sup>e</sup> detraction & scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle. They chainged allso the name of their place, and in stead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they call it Merie-mounte, as if this joylity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England, (as follows to be declared,) shortly after came over that worthy gentleman, M<sup>r</sup>. John Endecott, who brought over a patent under y<sup>e</sup> broad seall, for y<sup>e</sup> govermente of y<sup>e</sup> Massachusetts, who

visiting those parts caused y<sup>e</sup> May-polle to be cutt downe, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to looke ther should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed y<sup>e</sup> name of their place againe, and called it Mounte-Dagon. . . .

— *William Bradford.*

*Doubtful questions proposed to and answered by the Reverend John Cotton, minister of the first church of Boston.*

Sir, . . .

Another question is concerning their toys they use at the time, which they say they celebrate in remembrance of Christ's birth (though they never less remember him) viz. carding, dancing, &c. I know not what my duty is, that I may discharge a good conscience. I have oft upon occasion spoken against mixt dancing after feasts, little thinking there had been any such suffered and practised here.

A third is this: on Valentine's day they have a custom to write names in papers and put them together in an hat, and then every one draws a Valentine (so they term it.) I would know whether it be lawful.

. . . So I commend you and yours to the peace of God, desiring the continuance of your prayers for us.

Yours in all Christian affection,

Ashby, March 3, 1625.

R. Levett.

To my much respected and very kind friend, Mr. Cotton, preacher of the word at Boston, give these.

Good Mr. Levett, . . .

Carding I take to be unlawful, and containing in it a lottery, at least in the shuffling and cutting and dealing. And a lottery also it is to choose Valentines in that sort you mention. Where man and his action is only causa per accidens of an event (as in carding and in choice of Valentines) God is the only and immediate causa per se. Now to appeal to him and his immediate providence for dispensing these ludicra, seemeth to me a taking of God's name in vain.

Dancing (yea though mixt) I would not simply condemn. For I see two sorts of mixt dancings in use with God's people in the Old Testament, the one religious, Exod. xv. 20, 21, the other civil, tending to the praise of conquerors, as the former of God, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7. Only lascivious dancing to wanton ditties, and in amorous gestures and wanton dalliances, especially after great feasts, I would bear witness against, as a great flabella libidinis.

Your witness bearing against such things, is (I take it) in opening some scripture, and from thence instructing in the truth and dissuading the contrary. . . .

— John Cotton.

*The condemnation of sundry forms of public amusement  
by those seeking to preserve godliness in the town of  
Boston.*

11<sup>d</sup> 11<sup>m</sup> [1675] This day I hear that G[od] has shot an arrow into the midst of this Town. The small pox is in an ordinary y<sup>e</sup> sign of the Swan, the

ordinary Keepers name is Windsor. His daughter is sick of the disease. It is observable that this disease begins at an alehouse, to testify God's displeasure ag<sup>t</sup> the sin of drunkenness & y<sup>t</sup> of multiplying alehouses!

— *Increase Mather.*

[November 27, 1676]

After Lect. dined wth ye Magistrates where ye Governor reflected on me, on ye account of some passages in my serm<sup>n</sup>. viz,\* y<sup>t</sup> strangers s[ai]d, y<sup>t</sup> yy had seen more drunkenness in N. E. in halfe a year yn in E[ngland] in all yir lives. Hee s[aid] yt yy yt s[aid] so lyed. And yt yr was more drunkennes in N. E. many years agoe yn yr is now, yea at ye first beginning of ys Colony. Mr. Stoughton Replied pleasantly, yt I must p[rea]ch a Recantat[io]<sup>n</sup> sermon. I told him, no, but if men w[ou]ld not accept my Labors God will. As for ye Governor, He hath bin ye principal Author of ye multitude of ordinaries w<sup>h</sup> be in Boston, giving licences w[he]n ye townsmen w[ou]ld not doe it. No wonder yt N. E. is visited, w[he]n ye Head is so spirited.

— *Increase Mather.*

Ap<sup>l</sup> 27 [1687] Sword playing was this day openly practised on a Stage in Boston & that immediately after y<sup>e</sup> Lecture, so y<sup>t</sup> the Devil has begun a Lecture in Boston on a Lecture-day wh was set up for Christ.

May 1. A May pole was set up in Charlestown.

— *Increase Mather.*

\* y is regularly used for *th* and *the*; thus, yt = that, yy = they, yn = then or than, etc.

Thursday, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 12, [1685]. . . After, the Ministers of this Town Come to the Court and complain against a Dancing Master who seeks to set up here and hath mixt Dances, and his time of Meeting is Lecture-Day; and 'tis reported he should say that by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Mr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not a time for N. E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt Dances.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. [1685]. . . Mr. Francis Stepney, the Dancing Master, desired a Jury, so he and Mr. Shrimpton Bound in 50£ to Jan. Court<sup>r</sup>. Said Stepney is ordered not to keep a Dancing School; if he does will be taken in contempt and proceeded with accordingly.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

Sabbath, Dec. 4. [1687]. . . In the Even Capt. Eliot, Frary, Williams and Self, Treat with \* Brother Wing about his Setting a Room in his House for a man to shew Tricks in. He saith, seeing it is offensive, he will remedy it. it seems the Room is fitted with Seats. I read what Dr. Ames saith of Callings, and Spake as I could, from this Principle, That the Man's Practice was unlawfull, and therefore Capt. Wing could not lawfully give him an accomodation for it. Sung the 90<sup>th</sup> Ps. from the 12<sup>th</sup> v. to the end. Broke up.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

\* Capt. Wing kept a tavern.

[August 30, 1696]

Understanding that many, especially of our young People gave themselves a *Liberty*, to do Things not of *good Report*, especially, in using the scandalous *Games of Lottery*. I sett myself, in the Lecture, to bear my Testimony, against their Miscarriages, with a Sermon, on Act. 16. 2. *One well-reported of*.

— *Cotton Mather*.

Tuesday, Apr. 23. [1706] Govr. comes to Town guarded by the Troops with their Swords drawn; dines at the Dragon, from thence proceeds to the Townhouse, Illuminations at night. Capt. Pelham tells me several wore crosses in their Hats; which makes me resolve to stay at home. . . Because to drinking Healths, now the Keeping of a Day to fictitious St. George, is plainly set on foot.

— *Samuel Sewall*.

Seventh-Day, Feb<sup>r</sup>. 6. [1711 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] I went to the Town house on the occasion of the Queen's Birthday; Mr. Bromfield and I sat a-while in one of the windows, Table being full; afterward sat in. A little before Sun-set I went away. . . My neighbor Colson knocks at our door about 9. or past to tell of the Disorders at the Tavern at the South-end in Mr. Addington's house, kept by John Wallis. He desired me that I would accompany Mr. Bromfield and Constable Howell thither. It was 35. Minutes past Nine at Night before Mr. Bromfield came; then we went. I took Æneas Salter with me. Found much Company. They refus'd to go away. Said they were there to drink the Queen's Health, and they had many other Healths to drink. Call'd for more

Drink: drank to me, I took notice of the Affront to them. Said must and would stay upon that Solemn occasion. Mr. John Netmaker drank the Queen's Health to me. I told him I drank none; upon that he ceas'd. Mr. Brinley put on his Hat to affront me. I made him take it off. I threaten'd to send some of them to prison; that did not move them. They said they could but pay their Fine, and doing that they might stay. I told them if they had not a care, they would be guilty of a Riot. Mr. Bromfield spake of raising a number of Men to Quell them, and was in some heat, ready to run into the Street. But I did not like that. Not having Pen and Ink, I went to take their Names with my Pensil, and not knowing how to Spell their Names, they themselves of their own accord writ them. . . .

At last I address'd myself to Mr. Banister. I told him he had been longest an Inhabitant and Freeholder, I expected he should set a good Example in departing thence. Upon this he invited them to his own House, and away they went; and we, after them, went away. The Clock in the room struck a pretty while before they departed. I went directly home, and found it 25. Minutes past Ten at Night when I entred my own House.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

To the honorable Isaac Addington, Esq., Secretary.  
To be communicated to his Excellency the Governour, & to the honorable Council.

Boston of the Massachusetts; March 2, 1713-1714.  
There is a Rumour, as if some designed to have a Play acted in the Council-Chamber, next Monday;

which much surprises me; And as much as in me lies, I do forbid it. The Romans were very fond of their Plays; but I never heard they were so far set upon them, as to turn their Senat-House into a Play-House. Our Town-House was built at great Cost & Charge, for the sake of very serious & important Business; the Three Chambers above, & the Exchange below; Business of the Province, County, & Town. Let it not be abused with Dances or other Scenical divertisements. It cannot be a Honor to the Queen, to have the Laws of Honesty & Sobriety broken in upon. Ovid himself offers invincible Arguments against publick Plays:

Ut tamen hoc fatear; Ludi quoque semina præbent Nequitia: Let not Christian Boston goe beyond Heathen Rome in the practice of shamefull Vanities.

This is the Voice of your most humble & obedient  
Servant,

Samuel Sewall.

*How the Pilgrims kept Christmas on ship and on shore.*

Munday the 25. [1620] being Christmas day, we began to drinke water aboard, but at night the Master caused vs to haue some Beere, and so on boord we had diverse times now and then some Beere, but on shore none at all.

— "*Mourt's Relation.*"

[1621]

. . . One y<sup>e</sup> day called Chrismasday, y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> caled them out to worke, (as was used,) but y<sup>e</sup> most of this new-company excused them selves and said

it wente against their consciences to work on y<sup>t</sup> day. So y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> tould them that if they made it mater of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led-away y<sup>e</sup> rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in the streete at play, openly; some pitching y<sup>e</sup> barr, & some at stoole-ball, and shuch like sports. So he went to them, and tooke away their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made y<sup>e</sup> keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in y<sup>e</sup> streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly. . . .

— *William Bradford.*

*The first Thanksgiving feast in New Plymouth.*

[1621]

Our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours; they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beside, served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations, we exercised our Armes, many of the *Indians* coming amongst vs, and the rest their greatest King *Massasoyt*, with some ninetie men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the Plantation

and bestowed on our Governour, and vpon the Capitaine, and others.

— *E[dward] W[inslow]*.

*Some animadversions on the observance of Christmas.*

Dec. 25. [1685] Friday. Carts come to Town and Shops open as is usual. Some somehow observe the day; but are vexed I believe that the Body of the People profane it, and blessed be God no Authority yet to compell them to keep it.

— *Samuel Sewall*.

Decemb<sup>r</sup> 25. 97. Snowy day: Shops are open, and Carts and sleds come to Town with Wood and Fagots as formerly, save what abatement may be allowed on account of the wether. This morning we read in course the 14, 15, and 16<sup>th</sup> Psalms. From the 4<sup>th</sup> v. of the 16<sup>th</sup> Ps I took occasion to dehorte mine from Christmas-keeping, and charged them to forbear.

— *Samuel Sewall*.

[Dec. 30, 1711]

I hear of a Number of young People of both Sexes, belonging, many of them, to my Flock, who have had on the Christmas-night, this last Week, a Frolick, a revelling Feast, and Ball, which discovers their Corruption, and has a Tendency to corrupt them yett more, and provoke the Holy One to give them up unto eternal Hardness of Heart. I must acquitt myself as prudently and as faithfully as ever I can, in the Discharge of my Duty to them, on this Occa-

sion, and endeavour to bring them unto Repentance, and prevent such Follies for the Time to come.

— *Cotton Mather.*

Lord's Day, Decemb<sup>r</sup>. 26. [1714] Mr. Bromfield and I go and keep the Sabbath with Mr. John Webb, and sit down with that Church at the Lord's Table. I did it to hold Communion with that Church; and, so far as in me lay, to put Respect upon that affronted, despised Lord's Day. For the Church of England had the Lord's Su<sup>p</sup>er yesterday, the last day of the Week; but will not have it to-day, the day that the Lord has made. And Gen<sup>l</sup>. Nicholson, who kept Satterday, was this Lord's Day Ru<sup>m</sup>aging and Chittering with Wheelbarrows &c., to get aboard at the long Wharf, and Firing Guns at Setting Sail. I thank God, I heard not, saw not any thing of it; but was quiet at the New North.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

Judge Samuel Sewall *dehorts both schoolmasters and scholars from the foolish and damnable — the latter being the judge's own word — practice of playing idle tricks on the first of April.*

To the Rev. Mr. Ezekiel Cheever & Mr. Nathaniel Williams, Schoolmasters in Boston.

April 1, 1708, Feria Quinta.

Gentl<sup>n</sup>,— If stated a<sup>n</sup>iversary days for solemn Religious exercises are unwarrantable, without Controversy, anniversary days for sinfull vanities are Damnable. If men are accountable for every idle

Word, what a Reckoning will they have that keep up stated Times to promote Lying & Folly! What an abuse is it of precious Time; what a Profanation! What an Affront to the Divine Bestower of it! I have heard a child of six years old say within these 2 or 3 days, that one must tell a man his shoes are unbuckled, (when they were indeed buckled) & then he would stoop down to buckle them, & then he was an April Fool.

Pray Gentlemen, if you think it Convenient, as I hope you will, Insinuate into your Scholars, the defiling & provoking nature of such a Foolish practice, & take them off from it.

I am, Gent<sup>n</sup>. your Serv<sup>t</sup>.

S. S.

April, 1. [1719]. . . In the morning I dehorted Sam. Hirst and Grindal Rawson from playing Idle Tricks because 'twas first of April; They were the greatest fools that did so. N. E. Men came hither to avoid anniversary days, the keeping of them, such as the 25th of Dec<sup>r</sup>. How displeasing must it be to God, the giver of our Time, to keep anniversary days to play the fool with ourselves and others. . . .

*A very genteel, well regulated assembly of Boston damsels, with no rudeness, I assure you.*

Jan<sup>y</sup> } I told you the 27th Ult that I was going to  
17<sup>th</sup> } a constitution with miss Soley. I have  
[1772] } now the pleasure to give you the result, viz.  
a very genteel well regulated assembly which we had  
at Mr Soley's last evening, Miss Soley being mistress

of the ceremony. Mrs Soley desired me to assist Miss Hannah in making out a list of guests which I did some time since, I wrote all the invitation cards. There was a large company assembled in a handsome, large, upper room in the new end of the house. We had two fiddles, & I had the honor to open the diversion of the evening in a minuet with Miss Soley. . . . Our treat was nuts, raisins, Cakes, Wine, punch, hot & cold, all in great plenty. We had a very agreeable evening from 5 to 10 o'clock. For variety we woo'd a widow, hunted the whistle, threaded the needle, & while the company was collecting, we diverted ourselves with playing of pawns, no rudeness Mamma I assure you. Aunt Deming desires you would *perticulary observe*, that the elderly part of the company were *spectators only*, they mix'd not in either of the above describ'd scenes.

I was dress'd in my yellow coat, black bib & apron, black feathers on my head, my past[e] comb, & all my past[e] garnet marquesett & jet pins, together with my silver plume—my locket, rings, black collar round my neck, black mitts & 2 or 3 yards of blue ribbin; (black & blue is high tast) striped tucker and ruffels (not my best) & my silk shoes compleated my dress.

— *Anna Green Winslow.*



Of Episcopacy: the Fear and the Encroachment  
thereof; also its Defence and Vindication; show-  
ing two sides of the Controversy long waged  
in New England.



*The use and abuse of the cross in the colours.*

[December, 1634]

. . . One thing I canot but relate, & that not only with grefe, for & with feare of what will bee the event of a strange thinge put in practice by sum in the Church of Salem; but by whome I heare not. And that is they haue Cut out the Crosse in the flage, or Ansient that they cari before them when they trayne. Inded it is contrary to the mindes & willes of all that I cann heare of. Captaine Indicat [Endicot] there Captaine is a holy honest man & dus vtterly abandon it, & who are the Aegeentes in it I cannot heare. . . .

— *James Cudworth.*

Friday, Augt. 20. [1686]. . . I was and am in great exercise about the Cross to be put into the Colours, and afraid if I should have a hand in't whether it may not hinder my Entrance into the Holy Land.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

*Objections, conscientious and otherwise, to the establishment of the Church of England and its appointed orders and services.*

March 28, 1688. Capt. Davis spake to me for Land to set a Church on. I told him could not, would not, put Mr. Cotton's Land to such an use, and besides, 'twas Entail'd. After, Mr. Randolph

saw me, and had me to his House to see the Landscips of Oxford Colledges and Halls. Left me with Mr. Radcliff, who spake to me for Land at Cotton-Hill for a Church which were going to build: I told him I could not, first because I would not set up that which the People of N. E. came over to avoid: 2<sup>d</sup>. the Land was Entail'd. In after discourse I mentioned chiefly the Cross in Baptism, and Holy Dayes.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 28. 1708. Mrs. Taylor is buried in Mr. Stoughton's Tomb. . . There was no Prayer at the House; and at the Grave Mr. Myles Read Comon-Prayer; which I reckon an Indignity and affront done to Mr. Stoughton and his Friends: There aḡpears much Ingratitude and Baseness in it because twas Mr. Danforth's Parish, and Mr. Danforth's wife is Cousin German to Col. Taylor: and Col. Byfield and his deceased daughter dissenters as I suḡpose. I was much surprised and grieved at it, and went not into the burying place.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1. [1708]. . . At 3 p. m. the Council meets, from thence they goe to the Funeral of Mrs. Lyde, Col. Byfield's eldest daughter. Remembring what I had met with at her Sister's Burial at Dorchester last Satterday, I slipt from the Company up to my daughter's, and so went home, and avoided the Funeral. The office for Burial is a Lying, very bad office; makes no difference between the precious and the vile.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

[July 15, 1711]

That sottish Bigotry is growing; that all the pastoral Acts done by those who have not episcopal Ordination are Invalid. It seems necessary, that the Churches be fortified against it. I would consult and agree with some of the Ministers of the Neighbourhood, about the best Methods of encountering the Follies of unreasonable Bigots.

— *Cotton Mather.*

*Yet more light on the scandal among the churches caused by the defection of the rector and tutors of Yale College, part of which has already been noted.*

To Gov. Saltonstall, 8<sup>r</sup> 15, 1722, at New Haven.

Before the smoke of Yale College was discerned, I was shew'd a piece of Ground, bought to build an Episcopal Church on in Boston: & the same person whispered to me that Mr. Cutler, your Rector, was to preach in it. The Noise of Yale College came to us gradually; at first we heard some uncertain Rumbings; at last the plain & loud Thunder-Claps astonished us. The Colony, the Town, the Society from whence it came Accented every Sound. It quickly brought to my mind Rev. xvi. 15. I apprehend that in this extraordinary & unexpected Alarm, we have a Demonstration that the Drying up the Great River Euphrates is near at hand. Methinks he could not easily have lit upon a Subject so indefensible as that of the English Episcopacy, which seems to be absolutely *ανθρωπινη κτισις*. For the Bishop is perfectly the King's Creature: the Chapter must choose the person named in the *conge d'elire*.

I am fully of Mr. Cotton's mind, that Episcopacy is that upon which the Fifth Vial is poured out, & he will have hard work that shall endeavour to controll that Angel. 'Tis evident that the New England Planters were led by the Spirit of God when they followed the Lamb in the Chastity of his Ordinances. Dr. Goodwin & Dr. Owen make a very honourable Mention of it. The Bishops drove the renowned Planters out of England. I hope God will not suffer the Bishops to drive their Children out of New England. I pray God to make your Assistants & Deputies wise as Serpents, harmless as Doves. Desiring your Prayers, I am

Samuel Sewall.

*To Reverend Cotton Mather.*

Fairfield, Oct. 2, 1722.

Reverend and honoured Sir,

The occasion of my now giving you these few lines is to me, and I presume to many others, melancholy enough. You have perhaps heard before now, or will hear before these come to hand, (I suppose) of the revolt of several persons of figure among us unto the church of England. There's the Rev. Mr. Cutler, rector of our college, and Mr. Daniel Brown, the tutor thereof. There are also of ordained ministers, pastors of several churches among us, the Rev. Messieurs following, viz. John Hart of East Guilford, Samuel Whittlesey of Wallingford, Jared Eliot of Kennelworth [Killingworth], Samuel Johnson of West-Haven, and James Wetmore of North-Haven. They are the most of them reputed men of considerable learning, and all of them of a virtuous

and blameless conversation. I apprehend the axe is hereby laid the root of our civil and sacred enjoyments; and a doleful gap opened for trouble and confusion in our churches. The churchmen among us are wonderfully encouraged and lifted up by the appearance of these gentlemen on their side. And how many more will, by their example, be encouraged to go off from us to them, God only knows. It is a very dark day with us; and we need pity, prayers and counsel. . . . As for the gentlemen who have declared themselves in favour of the church, some of them declared themselves much in doubt about the validity of Presbyterian ordination; others of them have (if I remember right) declared their satisfaction as to the invalidity thereof. Please to communicate the contents of my letter to your venerable and honoured father, and to as many of the ministers of Boston, &c., as you judge meet. And let me (though unworthy) have, as soon as may be, what comfort, light and strength is needful in our sad circumstances, from as many of you as will please to engage in the cause. Thus desiring an interest in your prayers for us, I subscribe,

Reverend and honoured sir,

your humble servant,

Joseph Webb.

The sentiments of several ministers in Boston, concerning the duty of the distressed churches, with relation to their pastors, who, in an instrument under their hands, have publicly declared, that they, some of them, *doubt the validity*, others of them *are fully persuaded of the invalidity* of the presbyterian ordination.

It plainly appears,

I. These new Episcopalians have declared their desire to introduce an usurpation and a superstition into the church of God, clearly condemned in the sacred scriptures, which our loyalty and chastity to our Saviour, obliges us to keep close unto; and a tyranny, from which the whole church, which desires to be reformed, has groaned that it may be delivered.

II. They have had the temerity and presumption to deny the ministry and renounce the communion of all the Protestant churches in the whole world, except that little party that submits to the English episcopacy. Such a schism do they run into.

III. The scandalous conjunction of these unhappy men with the papists is, perhaps, more than what they have themselves duly considered. For, first, the great and almost the last clamor with which the papists try to perplex and weaken the reformed churches, is, that their ministry is invalid for want of Episcopal ordination. These men strengthen the common enemy in the boundless mischief attempted by this foolish cavil. . . . To maintain their episcopal ordination they set up that vile, senseless, wretched whimsey of an uninterrupted succession, which our glorious Lord has confuted with such matters of fact, that it is amazing the builders of Babel are not ashamed of it; and they will have none owned for ministers of Christ in the world, but such as antichrist has ordained for him. . . .

IV. They have cast a vile indignity upon those burning and shining lights, the excellent servants of God, who were the leaders of the flocks that followed our Lord Jesus into this wilderness, and upon the ministry of them and their successors. . . . A

degenerate offspring have declared these men of God, than whom the world has rarely been illuminated with brighter stars, to be no true ministers of Christ, but usurpers of the ministry and invaders of a sacred office, robbers that have not entered in by the door. . . .

V. They have done what is likely to throw the churches of the country into disturbance and confusion, beyond any thing they have ever met withal, and animate an ungodly generation to set up a lifeless religion and an irreligious life, in the room of that which has hitherto been our glory. . . .

[In the handwriting of Cotton Mather.]

*A somewhat lighter aspect of Episcopal innovations.*

Jan<sup>y</sup> 4th } . . . On thursday I attended my aunt  
1772 } to Lecture & heard Dr. Chauncey preach  
a third sermon from Acts 11.42. They continued  
stedfastly—in breaking of bread. . . . Dr. Pemberton & Dr. Cooper had on gowns, In the form of the Episcopal cassock we hear, the Doct<sup>s</sup> design to distinguish themselves from the inferior clergy by these strange habits [at a time too when the good people of N. E. are threaten'd with & dreading the coming of an episcopal bishop] N. B. I don't know whether one sleeve would make a full trimm'd neglee as the fashion is at present, tho' I cant say but it might make one of the frugal sort with but scant trimming. Unkle says, they all have popes in their bellys. Contrary to I. Peter v. 2. 3. Aunt says, when she saw Dr. P. roll up the pulpit stairs, the figure of Parson Trulliber, recorded by Mr.

Fielding occur'd to her mind & she was really sorry a congregational divine, should, by any instance whatever, give her so unpleasing an idea.

— *Anna Green Winslow.*

*A sound objection roundly stated by one who honored his mother church.*

To the right Worshipfull his honored ffreind, John Wentthrop: Esqr. at Boston, thes, in Massachusetts.

Right Worshipfull, — I received your letter concerning Mr. Jenner; acknowledging your former courtesies to my selfe, and for your furtherance of a minister for vs, our whole Plantacion ar greatly behoulding vnto you. We haue ioyned both sides of our river together for his mayntenance, and haue willingly contributed for his stipend, 47*li* per annum: hoping the Lord will blesse and sanctifie his word vnto vs, that we may be both hearers and doers of the word and will of God. I like Mr. Jenner his life and conversacion, and alsoe his preaching, if he would lett the Church of England alone; that doth much trouble me, to heare our mother Church questioned for her impurity vpon every occasion, as if men (ministers I meane) had no other marke to ayme at, but the paps that gaue them suck, and from whence they first received the bread of life. I wishe they would follow the counsell you giue me in your letter (to improue that which is profitable to them, and cover the rest with loue,) for why should a son betray his mothers weaknes? Noah his son lyes

still vnder a curse, for discovering his fathers shame, his brothers eternall blessings for the contrary. Good Sir, pardon mee, I hope pardonable: I haue pleaded for our mother, which I beseech the Almighty God to purge from her errors. . . .

Thus ceasing farder to trouble you, with my respectiue [loue] to your selfe, I rest

Your assured freind and servant,  
Rich: Vines.

Saco, 25th of January, 1640.

*The difficulties of establishing the first Church of England in Boston and the censures of the independent clergy.*

*To the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Boston; in New England. Aug<sup>t</sup>: 2: 1686.

. . . Some tyme after the settlem<sup>t</sup> of the Gov<sup>t</sup> I moved for a place for the C: of England men to assemble in; after many delayes, at last wee gott a small Room in y<sup>e</sup> town house, but our Company increasing beyond the expectation of the Govn<sup>t</sup> wee now use y<sup>e</sup> Exchange, and have y<sup>e</sup> comon prayer and two sermons every Sunday & at 7 o'clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning on Wednesdays & frydays the whole service of y<sup>e</sup> church, and some Sundays 7 or 8 persons are in one day Baptized, and more would dayly be of our communion had wee but the company & countenance of the President & Councill, but instead thereof wee are neglected & can obtain no maintenance from them to support our Minister. . . . Their ministry exclaim ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Common Prayer, call-

ing it, mans Invention & that there is more hopes that whoremongers & adulterers will go to heaven then those of y<sup>e</sup> C of Eng<sup>d</sup>; by these wicked doctrines they poison the people and their Ministers Carry it as high as ever. . . .

— *Edward Randolph.*

*A missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts reports his trials.*

Boston, June 19, 1724.

D<sup>r</sup> Marshal,

Rev<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup>. I shou'd not have troubled you with this Letter, did I not think myself under a Necessity of doing it. I have already met with a great deal, and am likely to undergo a larger Share, of Trouble from the Independents here, on Account of my Endeavours to serve the Interest of the Established Chh.

I beg leave to lay before you a true State of my Case. After my Arrival here, which was upon the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, 1723, I kept the Books, which I caus'd to be printed in England close, without exposing one of them, the Dissenters in the mean while attacking the Church from the Writings of Tindal, Toland, Collins, & such like wretched Patrons of Atheism & Infidelity, until there was no more Room for Patience; wherefore upon the 27. of February (they having published a very severe Pamphlet against the Church but the Week before, and which they gave out was unanswerable) I expos'd the Book to Sale. They were very much alarm'd by it, and particularly by Reason of so many People publicly declaring, that if the Ministers did not fairly answer that Book, they wou'd declare for the Church. The

teachers here had Sense enough to know, that Matters of Fact are stubborn Things, and will not bend & twist, nor be turned inside out like Words & Phrases, . . . and that Book had reduced the Dispute to a Point of Fact, viz When did Episcopacy begin? These Gentlemen not being able to answer this Question, any otherwise than by deriving it from the Apostles, or near the Apostolic Age according to their two great heroes, Blondel and Salmasius: they were resolved to bring an Odium upon the Book, and accordingly have Recourse to their old Stratagem of crying out Treason!

The Ministers had a Meeting, and as I have been inform'd gave it as their Opinion, that the Book shou'd be condemned as a Libel against the Government, and I shou'd be prosecuted as a Libeller. . . .

I beg S<sup>r</sup>, that you would use your Interest in Favour of your very much obliged and very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

J<sup>no</sup> Checkley.



Of the Churches of New England: their external  
Form and inner Condition; together with some  
Accounts of a great Revival.



*The first ordination in Massachusetts Bay.*

[October 10, 1633]

A fast was kept at Boston, and Mr. Leverett, an ancient, sincere professor, of Mr. Cotton's congregation in England, was chosen a ruling elder, and Mr. Firman, a godly man, an apothecary of Sudbury in England, was chosen deacon, by imposition of hands; and Mr. Cotton was then chosen teacher of the congregation of Boston, and ordained by imposition of the hands of the presbytery, in this manner: First, he was chosen by all the congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands. Then Mr. Wilson, the pastor, demanded of him, if he did accept of that call. He paused, and then spake to this effect: that howsoever he knew himself unworthy and unsufficient for that place; yet, having observed all the passages of God's providence, (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the pastor prayed, and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a sign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office; and lastly did bless him. Then the neighboring ministers, which were present, did (at the pastor's motion) give him the right hands of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation.

— *John Winthrop.*

*The modest position of females in the church.*

[September 4, 1633]

He [Rev. John Cotton] desired his wife might also be admitted a member [of the First Church of Boston] and gave a modest testimony of her, but withal requested, that she might not be put to make open confession, etc., which he said was against the apostles' rule, and not fit for women's modesty; but that the elders might examine her in private. So she was asked, if she did consent in the confession of faith made by her husband, and if she did desire to be admitted, etc.; whereto she answered affirmatively; and so both were admitted, and their child baptized.

— *John Winthrop.*To the Worshipfull John Winthrope Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Honoured S<sup>r</sup> — After my dutifull respects to yow and my ant, & respects to all my cousens, &c., the occation of my wrighting at this time is earnestly to beseech your worship to cōsider the uncomfortale condition that the people of Mistick [Connecticut] are in, in respect of their going soe far to meting, and there to sitt all day without any sustenance, that poor women, that have young children sucking, manie times are brought exeding faint, & mutch weakened, & divers are not able to goe al winter. But now I hope God will be pleased to open for us some dore of reliefe that wee may bee eased of that burden by injoying the means nerer to us. I know

many women has almost ghotten their banes by sitting upon the could ground an hour, some times longer, between sermons. The people of the west side Mistick River are joyning with us in a petion to the Court, whoe are under like burdens. . . . It has pleased God to bless us in these parts; & families are mutch increased, soe that wee are able amongst us to maintain a minister at Mistick, which would bee exeding comfortable both for young and old. I have been ill this winter w<sup>th</sup> a weakness in the reigns of my back and in my sperits. Nell Fanning desires to remember her service to yow & M<sup>rs</sup> Winthrope, and I am desired to wright in the behalfe of most all the women of Mistick whoe are desirous to have a meting house some where about Mistick. I thank yow for the physik yow sent me, and for other kindnesses. Soe having noe time to inlarge to trouble farther at present, not doubting of your readiness to consider the distresses of any that labour under any burden of sorow, I subscribe my selfe

Your affectionate Kinswoman and Servant  
Hannah Gallop.

May y<sup>e</sup> 6, 1672.

*To Madam Park, Consort of the Reverend Joseph Park.*

[Westerly, Connecticut, March 16, 1752]

D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>m</sup>. Having had y<sup>e</sup> comfort of being acquainted with you these 14 years & y<sup>e</sup> blessing of being y<sup>e</sup> most of y<sup>e</sup> time a member of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ with you, I can truly say that you have been the truest & closest friend to me, & I believe to all of the Church in y<sup>e</sup> faithful discharge of y<sup>r</sup> Covenant vows & obli-

gations, and I can say to me in particular, that y<sup>a</sup> have been a great means of strengthening my hope & of conveying light to me, whereby I have been enabled to resist the Devil and make him flee, & I can truly say that you have been a Deborah in Israel, that you have stirred up y<sup>e</sup> Church to purge out a false policy & spirit that was like a canker eating out vital piety of y<sup>e</sup> Church. . . . D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>m</sup> time would fail me to recount all y<sup>e</sup> good deeds y<sup>a</sup> have done here, y<sup>t</sup> I know I thought these several years past of giving in this testimony of you, but Satan hindered me. I thought it too much to be said of a woman. But blessed be God who hath given me light, for now I can feel tho imperfectly that passage of Scripture where y<sup>e</sup> woman poured rich ointment upon our Lord Jesus Christ y<sup>e</sup> disciples found fault with such a waste, but y<sup>e</sup> Lord bid them not to trouble her. . . .

D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>m</sup> gratitude demands a great deal more than this, but duty calls aloud for it. . . . begging an interest in your prayers with unfeigned love to you & yours I remain your poor affectionate brother & servant,

Christopher Sugar, Clerk.

*Sundry details of meetings and meeting houses, differing in notable degree from modern usage.*

[Boston, June 28, 1680]

. . . One of the best ministers in the place being very sick, a day of fasting and prayer was observed in a church near by our house. We went into the

church, where, in the first place, a minister made a prayer in the pulpit, of full two hours in length; after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long, and after that a prayer was made, and some verses sung out of the Psalms. In the afternoon, three or four hours were consumed with nothing except prayers, three ministers relieving each other alternately; when one was tired, another went up into the pulpit. There was no more devotion than in other churches, and even less than in New York; no respect, no reverence; in a word, nothing but the name of Independents; and that was all. . . .

— *Jasper Danckaerts.*

[May 13, 1685]

THIS DAY is appointed (*Because Thou, O Lord, art stronger than I, and hast prevailed!*) for my ORDINATION, to the Office of a *Pastor* over the *North Church* in *Boston*. . . .

With a Soul, inexpressibly irradiated from on High, I went into one of the vastest Congregations that has ever been seen in these parts of the World; where I prayed about an Hour and a Quarter, and preached (on Joh. 21. 17.) about an Hour and a three quarters; With such Assistences from Heaven, as exceeded all that my *poor Faith* could have imagined.

In the Afternoon, my Father having prayed and preached (on Act. 13. 2.), the *Ordination* was performed, with a more than ordinary Solemnitie, producing a greater Number of moved Hearts and weeping Eyes, than perhaps have been at any Time here seen together.

— *Cotton Mather.*

Sabbath, Jan<sup>r</sup> 24, [1686] Friday night and Satter-day were extream cold, so that the Harbour frozen up, and to the Castle. This day so cold that the Sacramental Bread is frozen pretty hard, and rattled sadly as broken into the Plates.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

Lord's Day, Jan<sup>y</sup> 15. [171 $\frac{5}{8}$ ] An Extraordinary Cold Storm of Wind and Snow. Blows much worse as coming home at Noon, and so holds on. Bread was frozen at the Lord's Table. . . . Though twas so Cold, yet John Tuckerman was baptised. At six a-clock my ink freezes so that I can hardly write by a good fire in my Wive's Chamber. Yet was very comfortable at Meeting. *Laus Deo.*

— *Samuel Sewall.*

[Feb.] 5. [17 $\frac{3}{4}$ ] Lord's Day, Lord's Su<sup>p</sup>er at the South; Expostulated with my daughter Sewall for her receiving the Elements with her Gloves on; had spoken to her about it before, and she had once practi<sup>c</sup>'d otherwise, and I understood she had promised, or resolved to hold on. The Lord help me to receive Christ by the naked Hand of Faith; and not rest in outward Order and Comliness.

— *Samuel Sewall.*

*Contradictory opinions concerning the wisdom and the efficacy of the labours of the Reverend George Whitefield.*

[February 9, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$ ]

. . . I thank you for the account you gave me of the fruit of the journeys your way of those two eminent servants of Christ, Whitefield & Tennent.

Few such men have appear'd since the days of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. God is giving them seals of their ministry from day to day. I suppose this town with many others can hardly tell the time of such a generall rousing from dreadfull lethargy. The dry bones are making a continual rattling. God is clothing them with flesh, sinews, and skin, and is breathing upon the slain that they may live, and it looks as if they would soon form a large army. God grant it may be so, for his son Christ Jesus' sake. . . .

— Jonathan Belcher.

[January 16, 1742]

. . . The state of affairs on a religious account is much the same, I am inclined to think in this *Province*, as in the Colony you belong to. . . . Great disorders and irregularities have been almost general, and I know no place where there has been this *religious commotion*, but it has been accompanied with a very unchristian spirit of captiousness, a readiness to think well of all in one particular way of thinking and talking, to the condemning of every body else. *Passion* seems to take the place too much in the room of reason; visions and trances have become common; and I fear in a multitude of cases an *overheated imagination* is taken for the influence of the *divine spirit*. . . . The country was never in a more critical state, and how things will finally turn out God only knows. The *standing ministers* of the land are evidently struck at; and so are the colleges; and if Itinerant ministers, and lay exhorters are not discountenanced, I dread to think of the consequences. . . .

— Charles Chauncey.

[March 16, 1743]

. . . Mr. Whitefield is strongly expected over this spring by his friends. I'm satisfied his vanity was never so well pleased as by the Hosannas of ministers and parishioners in these parts of the earth; and it would not be strange to me, if he should incline to have his vanity gratified again in the same way: Though if he comes with any such expectation, I hope he will m'et with disappointment. I trust there are some who will think it proper if he should again appear among us, to magnify themselves and their office. I hope the ministers in the country (I can't be bound for the ministers in Boston, all of them) will let him know that they look upon him but as a man, and a man of smaller talents than many among themselves; and will properly testify against his Itinerating practice, which, in my opinion is the source of all our other disorder; nor will they be satisfied till this way of conduct has an end put to it. . . .

— Charles Chauncey.

[August 4, 1742]

. . . And now it was, that Mr. *Whitefield's* Doctrine of *inward Feelings* began to discover itself in Multitudes, whose *sensible Perceptions* arose to such a Height, as that they *cried out, fell down, swooned away*, and, to all Appearance, were like Persons in *Fits*; and this, when the Preaching (if it may be so called) had in it as little well digested and connected good Sense, as you can well suppose. Scores in a Congregation would be in such Circumstances at a Time; nay some hundreds in some Places, to the

filling the Houses of Worship with Confusion not to be expressed in Words, nor indeed conceived of by the most lively Imagination, unless where Persons have been Eye and Ear witnesses to these Things. . . The *Speaker* delivers himself, with the *greatest Vehemence* both of *Voice* and *Gesture*, and in the most *frightful Language* his Genius will allow of. If this has its intended Effect upon *one* or *two weak Women*, the Shrieks catch from one to another, till a great Part of the Congregation is affected. . . . *Visions* now became common, and *Trances* also, the Subjects of which were in their own Conceit transported from Earth to Heaven, where they saw and heard most glorious Things; conversed with *Christ* and *holy Angels*; had opened to them the *Book of Life*, and were permitted to read the names of persons there, and the like. And what is a singular Instance (so far as I remember) of the working of Enthusiasm, *laughing, loud hearty laughing*, was one of the Ways in which our *New Converts*, almost everywhere, were wont to join together in expressing their Joy at the Conversion of others.

'Tis scarce imaginable what Excesses and Extravagances People were running into, and even encouraged in; beeing told such Things were Arguments of the *extraordinary Presence of the Holy Ghost* with them. The same Houses of Worship were scarce emptied Night nor Day for a Week together, and unheard of Instances of supposed Religion were carried on in them, some would be *praying*, some *exhorting*, some *singing*, some *clapping* their Hands, some *laughing*, some *crying*, some *shrieking* and *roaring out*; and so invincibly set were they in these Ways, especially when encouraged by

any Ministers, (as was too often the Case) that it was a vain Thing to argue with them, to show them the Indecency of such Behaviour; and whoever indeed made an Attempt this Way, might be sure aforehand of being called an *Opposer* of the *Spirit*, and a *Child* of the *Devil*. . . .

For myself, I am among those who are clearly in the Opinion, that there never was such a *Spirit* of *Superstition* and *Enthusiasm* reigning in the Land before; never such *gross Disorders* and *barefaced Affronts* to *common Decency*; never such *scandalous Reproaches* on the *Blessed Spirit*, making him the Author of the greatest *Irregularities* and *Confusion*: Yet, I am of Opinion also, that the Appearances among us (so much out of the ordinary Way, and so unaccountable to persons not acquainted with the History of the World) have been the Means of awakening the Attention of many; and a good Number, I hope, have settled into a truly *Christian Temper*: Tho' I must add, at the same time, that I am far from thinking, that the Appearance in *general*, is any other than the Effect of *enthusiastick Heat*. The Goodness that has been so much talked of, 'tis plain to me, is nothing more, in general, than a *Commotion in the Passions*. I can't see that Men have been made *better*, if hereby be meant, their being formed to a nearer Resemblance to the *Divine Being* in *moral Holiness*. 'Tis not evident to me, that Persons, generally, have a better Understanding of Religion, a better Government of their Passions, a more Christian Love to their Neighbour, or that they are more decent and regular in their Devotions toward God. I am clearly of the Mind, they are worse in all these Regards. They place their Reli-

gion so much in the *Heat* and *Fervour* of their *Pas-sions*, that they too much neglect the *Reason* and *Judgment*: And instead of being more kind and gentle, more full of Mercy and good Fruits, they are more bitter, fierce and implacable. And what is a *grand discriminating Mark of this Work*, where-ever it takes place, is, that it makes men *spiritually proud* and *conceited* beyond Measure, infinitely *ensorious* and *uncharitable*, to *Neighbours*, to *Relations*, even the nearest and dearest; to *Ministers* in an especial Manner; yea, to all Mankind, who are not as they are, and don't think and act as they do. . . .

[Attributed to the Reverend Charles Chauncey.]

Boston, Feb. 6, 1745.

My Dear Friend,

. . . Finding some of their pastors without cause shy of me, they have passed votes of invitation for me to preach in the pulpits, and some time ago prevailed upon me, as they heard I had done in *Scotland*, to set up a lecture at six o'clock in the morning. Not expecting a very great auditory, I opened a lecture in one of the smallest meetings; . . . but how was I disappointed? Such great numbers flocked to hear, that I was obliged for the future to make use of two of their very largest places of worship, where I believe seldom less than two or three thousand attentive hearers hung as it were upon me, to hear the word preached. . . . It is impossible to describe the eagerness and punctuality of these early visitants. To see so many hundreds of both sexes neatly dressed, walking or riding so early along the streets to get food for their souls, has feasted my own heart.

The *Pharaohs* who used to say, "Ye are idle, ye are idle," now are stuck dumb: for lecture, and family prayer, and breakfast, are now over in many houses before the sun is suffered to come into other windows; and it is now become almost a common proverb, "That between *Tar-water* and *early rising*, the physicians will have no business." One morning the croud was so great, that I was obliged to go in at the window. . . . Hoping hereafter to send you and other friends a further account of many such real instances of all-conquering grace, I subscribe myself

Yours, &c.,  
G[eorge] W[hitefield].

*The strange and indecorous actions of the New Lights as disapprovingly viewed by a missionary of the Church of England.*

[January 16, 1759]

. . . No man can think (who is an utter stranger to them) what strange objections the People raise against the Sacraments; I mean such People as have been dragged up in Schism, or rather many of them, in no religion at all: the former (if possible) being Worse than the Latter. . . . The Infidels & the New-Light's rage most furiously against the Ordinances of X<sup>t</sup>. being necessary to Salvation. The Enthusiastic New-Lights affirming nothing necessary but what they wildly call Conversion. That is Screaming and Tumbling about the Floor, young Men and Women ten or 12 promiscuously on the Floor at once; oftentimes in their private and some-

times in their Publick Meetings; always screaming, and sometimes in a most hideous manner, calling upon People *to come to Christ, come to X<sup>t</sup>, come to X<sup>t</sup>*. At the same Time declaring to the people that y<sup>e</sup> Sacraments will not carry them to Christ, but only their being *converted* as they have been. And these distracted Frolicks, and many other, more like Demoniacs than any Thing else, they pretend to great Joy, and Serenity of Mind, and are then (according to their Scheme) notwithstanding they despise the Sacraments, entirely converted, and are infallibly sure of Salvation. . . .

— *John Checkley.*



Of Prophecies and Warnings, fearful Sights and  
great Signs, and the Interpretation thereof.



*Deep and searching questions raised on the occasion of  
the blowing up of the "Mary Rose" in Charles-  
town harbour.*

*To Governour John Winthrop.*

Dearest Sir,—Hearing of the remarkable stroake of Gods hand vppon the shippe & shippes companie of Bristoll, as also of some Atheisticall passages & hellish profanations of the Sabbaths & deridings of the people & wayes of God, I thought good to desire a word or two of you of the trueth of what you haue heard. Such an extraordinary judgment would bee searched into, what Gods meaninge is in it, both in respect of those whom it concerne more especiallie in England, as also in regard of ourselues. God will be honred in all dealings. We haue heard of seuerall vngodlie carriadges in that ship, as, ffirst in there way overbound they would constantlie jeere at the holie brethren of New England, & some of the marriners would in a scoffe ask when they should come to the holie Land? 2. After they lay in the harbor Mr. Norrice sent to the shippe one of our brethren vppon busines & hee heard them say, This is one of the holie brethren, mockinglye & disdaine-fullie. 3. That when some haue beene with them aboard to buy necessities, the shippe men would vsuallie say to some of them that they could not want any thinge, they were full of the Spiritt. 4. That the last Lords Day, or the Lords Day before, there were many drinkings aboard with singing & musick in tymes of publike exercise. 5. That the

last ffast the master or captaine of the shippe, with most of the companie would not goe to the meetinge, but read the booke of common prayer so often over that some of the company said hee had worne that threedbare, with many such passages. Now if these or the like be true, as I am persuaded some of them are, I think the trueth heereof would be made knowne, by some faithfull hand in Bristoll or else where, ffor it is a very remarkable & vnusuall stroake. Pardon I pray you my boldness heerein. . . . This being all at present, I leaue you with the Lord, desiring myne & my wie[f's] heartie loue & seruice to be remembred to your selfe & your dearest yoake-fellow, & rest

Yours euer assured,

Jo: Endecott.

Salem the 28th of the 5th moneth 1640.

*Astounding portents described and the signification thereof elucidated.*

[August 15, 1648]

The synod met at Cambridge. . . . Mr. Allen of Dedham preached out of Acts 15. . . .

It fell out, about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seat, where many of the elders sate behind the preacher. It came in at the door where people stood thick upon the stairs. Diverse of the elders shifted from it, but Mr. Thomson, one of the elders of Braintree, (a man of much faith,) trode upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a small pair of grains, until it was killed. This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by divine providence, it is out of doubt,

the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The serpent is the devil; the synod, the representative of the churches of Christ in New England. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head.

— *John Winthrop.*

1664 Novem. A great blazing starre appeared in the S: west w<sup>ch</sup> continued some monthes. The effects appeared much in England, in a great and dreadfull plague that followed the next summer, in a dreadfull warre by sea w<sup>th</sup> the dutch, and the burning of London the 2d year following.

— *Simon Bradstreet.*

To the Reverend and my much esteemed & very good freind M<sup>r</sup>. Increase Mather, Pastour of the North Church in Boston, deliuer this I pray you.

Febr. 19. [16]82

Reuerend & deare Sir, — I heartily salute you & yours in the Lord. S<sup>r</sup>, perceiuing by what is mentioned in the new year's Almanack that you ar setting forth an vsefull tract upon occasion of the late Comet, what effects in Diuine prouidence have followed Comets, I longe for an opportunity to acquaint you with a portentious sight, like vnto which I never read or heard before, namely, of a perfect crosse through the moone, with a pretty long, & broad, & pale couloured streame like the colour of the late Comet, though nothing so broad or long as that was

in the late comet, which streame passed through the moone from east to west, & from the north to the south. It was seene the 25<sup>th</sup> of last December, a little after nine of the clock at night, seene by ten credible persons which were occasionally at my house; & another credible person told me that the same night he and his brother, & another credible neighbour being talking without doores, they saw the same form of that cross through the moone: And a sister of our church told me that she beeing without doores that night saw the same sight. Now when I considered that the papacy of Rome had a cheife hand both in the signe of the cross, & in the superstitious setting up of Christmas, & that such a cross should bee seene on the night (which to them is a part) of theyr Christmas day, I wished that it did not portend a vigorous prosecution & spreading of popery, east, West, north, & south; but I rather propound it to yourself, that as you may see cause, you would further consider thereof, & give your thoughts about the same.

. . . Good S<sup>r</sup>, as you have beene in my heart often to cry for you by name, so let me craue a roome in your heart, to pray earnestly for me, who am, Sir,

Your very owne

Tho: Cobbet.

*To Dr. Increase Mather.*

[Dublin (?) August 13, 1683]

. . . For I am perswaded Comets doe no more portend than Eclipses, and Eclipses no more than the constant conjunctions of the sun & moon, that

is, just nothing at all, save onely as they may bee n<sup>th</sup> causes of altera<sup>o</sup>n of ayr or wether. . . . And the same I think of other phenomenas in the ayr, as also of Earthquakes. Nevertheless I am far from the profanenes of some, to jest & mock at them. I think God should be feared before in them, as hee also ought in all his works of wonder, & unusuall impestions of his power in the frame of nature, such as Whirlwinds, hurricanes, lightning, thunder, etc. But to make any of these things teachers from God to ourselves, of what is in God's purpose to doe in the world is not, I think, a sanctifying of him in those works of his, but rather an abusing and perverting them, & so a taking of his name (which is upon them) in vayn, and also a sin against the second commandment, in devising to ourselves a means of knowledge & teaching which God never ordeyned to that end.

— *Nathaniel Mather.*



Of Witchcraft, that dark Blot on the fair Fame of  
Massachusetts, of its Fury and Abating, the  
Trials and Sentences, and the final Re-  
pentance of many.



*The first trial for witchcraft.*

[June 4, 1648]

At this court one Margaret Jones of Charlestown was indicted and found guilty of witchcraft, and hanged for it. The evidence against her was, 1. that she was found to have such a malignant touch, as many persons, (men, women, and children,) whom she stroked or touched with any affection or displeasure, or, etc., were taken with deafness, or vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness, 2. she practising physic, and her medicines being such things as (by her own confession) were harmless, as aniseed, liquors, etc., yet had extraordinary violent effects, 3. she would use to tell such as would not make use of her physic, that they would never be healed, and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons, 4. some things which she foretold came to pass accordingly; other things she could tell of (as secret speeches, etc.) which she had no ordinary means to come to the knowledge of, . . . 6. in the prison, in the clear daylight, there was seen in her arms, she sitting on the floor, and her clothes up, etc., a little child, which ran from her into another room, and the officer following it, it was vanished. The like child was seen in two other places, to which she had relation; and one maid that saw it, fell sick upon it, and was cured by the said Margaret, who used means to be employed to that end. Her behavior at her trial was very intemperate, lying notoriously, and railing

upon the jury and witnesses, etc., and in the like distemper she died. The same day and hour she was executed, there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, etc.

— *John Winthrop.*

*The strange case of the Goodwin children, whence arose much confusion and consternation.*

[Boston, 1688]

. . . Wee have a very strange th[ing] among us, which we know not what to make of, except it bee Witchcraft, as we think it must needs bee. 3 or 4 children of one Goodwin, a Mason, that have been for some weeks grievously tormented, crying out of head, eies, tongue, teeth; break<sup>s</sup> theyr neck, back, thighs, knees, leggs, feet, toes, &c. & then they roar out, Oh my head, Oh my neck, & from one part to another the pain runs almost as fast as I write it. The pain is (doubtles) very exquisite, & the cries most dolorous & affecting, & this is noteable, that two or more of them cry out of the same pain in the same part, at the same time, & as the pain shifts to another place in one, so in the other, & thus it holds them for an hour together & more; & when the pain is over they eat, drink, walk, play, laugh, as at other times. They are generally well a nights. A great many good Xtians spent a day of prayer there. M<sup>r</sup>. Morton came over, & wee each spent an hour in prayer, since which the parents suspecting an old woman & her daughter living hard by, complaint was made to the Justices, & compassion had so far, that the women were comitted to prison & are there

now. Yesterday I called in at the House, & was informed by the parent that since the women were confined the children have been well while out of the House, but as soon as any of them come into the House, then taken as formerly; so that now all theyr children keep at theyr neighb<sup>rs</sup> houses. If any step home they are immediately afflicted, & while they keep out are well. I have been a little larger in this narrative, because I know you have studied these things. Wee cannot but think the devill has a hand in it by some instrum<sup>t</sup>. It is an example in all the parts of it, not to be paralleld. . . .

— *Joshua Moody.*

*The testimony of the Reverend Cotton Mather on this grievous matter.*

*To John Cotton.*

Boston, Aug. 5, 1692.

Reverend Sir,—Our Good God is working of Miracles. Five Witches were Lately Executed, impudently demanding of God, a Miraculous Vindication of their Innocency. Immediately upon this, Our God Miraculously sent in Five Andover-Witches, who made a most ample, surprising, amazing Confession, of all their Villainies and declared the Five newly executed to have been of their Company; discovering many more; but all agreeing in Burroughs being their Ringleader, who, I suppose, this Day receives his Trial at Salem, whither a Vast Concourse of people is gone; My Father, this morning among the Rest. Since those, there have come in

other Confessors; yea, they come in daily. About this prodigious matter my Soul has been Refreshed with some Little short of Miraculous Answers of prayer; which are not to be written; but they comfort mee with a prospect of an hopeful Issue. . . .

I Live in Pains, and want your prayers. Bestow them, dear Sir, on Your

C. Mather.

[December, 1692]

Now in the late horrid *Witchcraft*, the manner of the *Spectres* was to tender BOOKS unto the afflicted People; soliciting of them to subscribe unto a *League* with the *Divel* therein exhibited, and so become the *Servants* of the Divel forever; which when they refused, the *Spectres* would proceed then to wound them with Scalding, Burning, Pinching, Pricking, Twisting, Choaking, and a thousand præternatural Vexations.

Before I made any such Reflection myself, I heard this Reflection made by *others*, who were more considerate; that this Assault of the *evil Angels* upon the Countrey, was intended by *Hell*, as a particular Defiance, unto *my* poor Endeavours, to bring the Souls of men unto *Heaven*.

[October, 1693]

I had one singular Unhappiness, which befel mee, in this Journey [to Salem]. I had largely written three Discourses, which I designed both to *preach* at Salem, and hereafter to *print*. These *Notes*, were before the Sabbath, *stolen* from mee, with such Circumstances, that I am somewhat satisfied, The *Spectres*, or Agents in the *invisible World*, were the *Robbers*. This Disaster, had like to have disturbed

my Designs for the Sabbath; but God helped mee to *remember* a great part of what I had written, and to *deliver* also many other Things, which else I had not now made use of. So that the Diavel gott nothing! . . .

As for my missing Notes, the possessed young Woman, of her own Accord, enquir'd whether I missed them not? Shee told mee, the *Spectres* bragg'd in her hearing, that they had robb'd mee of them; shee added, *Bee n't concern'd; for they confess, they can't keep them alwayes from you; you shall have them all brought you again.* . . . On the fifth of *October* following, every Leaf of my Notes again came into my Hands, tho' they were in eighteen separate Quarters of Sheets. They were found drop't here and there, about the Streets of *Lyn*; but how they came to bee so drop't I can not imagine; and I as much wonder at the Exactness of their Præservation.

— *Cotton Mather.*

*The same authority on the vexed and sorely disputed question of spectral evidence, by the admission of which many poor wretches were adjudged guilty and condemned to death.*

[May 14, 1692]

The *Divels* after a most præternatural Manner, by the dreadful Judgment of Heaven took a *bodily Possession*, of many people, in *Salem*, and the adjacent places; and the Houses of the poor People, began to bee filled with the horrid Cries of Persons tormented by *evil Spirits*. There seem'd an execrable *Witchcraft*, in the Foundation of this wonderful Affliction, and many Persons, of diverse Characters, were

accused, apprehended, prosecuted, upon the *Visions* of the Afflicted.

For my own part, I was alwayes afraid of proceeding to convict and condemn any Person, as a *Confæderate* with afflicting Dæmons, upon so feeble an Evidence, as a *Spectral Representation*. Accordingly, I ever testified against it, both publicly and *privately*; and in my *Letters* to the *Judges*, I particularly, besought them, that they would by no means admitt itt; and when a considerable *Assembly* of *Ministers* gave in their *Advice* about that Matter, I not only concurred with their Advice, but it was I who drew it up.

Nevertheless, on the other side, I saw in most of the *Judges*, a most charming Instance of *Prudence* and *Patience*, and I knew their exemplary *Pietie*, and the *Agony* of Soul with which they sought the Direction of Heaven; above most other People, whom I generally saw enchanted into a raging, railing, scandalous and unreasonable Disposition, as the Distress increased upon us.

*To Judge John Richards, sitting at Salem.*

[May 31, 1692]

. . . And yet I must most humbly beg you that in the Managem<sup>t</sup> of the affair in your most worthy hands, you do not lay more stresse vpon pure Spectre testimony than it will bear. When you are satisfied or haue good plaine legall Evidence that the Dæmons which molest our poore neighbours, do indeed represent such & such people to the sufferers, thô this be a p<sup>r</sup>sumption, yet I suppose you will not reckon it a conviction that the people so rep<sup>r</sup>sented are witches to be imēdiately exterminated. It is

very certaine that the divells haue sometimes rep<sup>r</sup>-sented the shapes of persons not onely innocent, but also very vertuous. Thô I believe that the just God then ordinarily provides a way for the Speedy vindication of the persons thus abused. Moreover I do suspect that persons who haue too much indulged themselves in Malignant, Envious, malicious Ebullitions of their soules, may unhappily expose themselves to the Judgment of being rep<sup>r</sup>-sented by Divels, of whom they never had any vision, & with whom they haue much lesse written any Covenant. I would say this: If upon the bear supposeall of a poore creatures being rep<sup>r</sup>-sented by a Spectre, too great a progresse be made by the Authority in ruining a poor neighbour so rep<sup>r</sup>-sented, it may be that a doore may be thereby opened for the Divels to obtaine from the Courts in the invisible world a license to proceed vnto most hideous desolations vpon the repute & repose of such as haue yet been Kept from the great transgression. If mankind haue thus far once consented vnto the Creditt of Diabolicall rep<sup>r</sup>-sentations the Door is opened! Perhaps there are wise & good men, that may be ready to stile him that shall advance this Caution, A Witch Advocate, but in the winding vp this caution will certainly be wished for.

. . . There is cause Enough to think that it is a horrible Witchcraft that hath given rise to the troubles wherew<sup>th</sup> Salem Village is at this day harassed: & the indefatigable paines that are used for the tracing this Witchcraft are to be thankfully accepted, & applauded among all this people of God.

Albeit the business of this Witchcraft be very much transacted vpon the Stage of Imagination, yet

we Know, that, as in treason there is an īmagining which is a Capitall Crime. & here also the business thus managed in Imagination yet may not be called Imaginary. The Effects are dreadfully reall. Our deare neighbours are most really tormented. Really murdered, & really acquainted with hidden things, which are afterwards proved plainly to haue been Realities. . . .

To determine a matter so much in the Darke as to Know the guilty Employers of the Diuels in this worke of darknes, this is a worke, this is a labour. Now first a credible Confession of the guilty wretches is one of the most hopefull wayes of cōing at them, & I say a credible confession, because even confession it selfe sometimes is not credible. . . . All the difficulty is, how to obtaine this Confession. For this I am farr from vrging the vn-English method of torture. . . . For my part, I should not be vnwilling, that an Experiment be made whether accused partyes can repeate the Lords prayer, or those other Sistems of christianity, which it seemes, the Diuels often make the witches vnable to repeate, w<sup>th</sup>out ridiculous Depravations or Amputations. . . .

— *Cotton Mather.*

*An utter condemnation of this gross evil and real abomination set forth with many details of the examination and trial of supposed witches.*

[October 8, 1692]

. . . First, as to the method which the Salem justices do take in their examinations, it is truly this: A warrant being issued out to apprehend the persons that are charged and complained of by the

afflicted children, as they are called; said persons are brought before the justices, the afflicted being present. The justices ask the apprehended why they afflict these poor children; to which the apprehended answer, they do not afflict them. The justices order the apprehended to look upon the said children, which accordingly they do; and at the time of that look, (I dare not say *by* that look, as the Salem gentlemen do) the afflicted are cast into a fit. The apprehended are then blinded, and ordered to touch the afflicted; and at that touch, though not *by* the touch, (as above) the afflicted ordinarily do come out of their fits. The afflicted persons then declare and affirm, that the apprehended have afflicted them; upon which the apprehended persons, though of never so good repute, are forthwith committed to prison, on suspicion for witchcraft. . . . It is worthily noted by some, that at some times the afflicted will not presently come out of their fits upon the touch of the suspected; and then, forsooth, they are ordered by the justices to grasp hard, harder yet, &c. inso-much that at length the afflicted come out of their fits; and the reason is very good, because that a touch of any hand, and process of time, will work the cure; infallibly they will do it, as experience teaches.

I cannot but condemn this method of the justices, of making this touch of the hand a rule to discover witchcraft; because I am fully persuaded that it is sorcery, and a superstitious method, and that which we have no rule for, either from reason or religion. . . .

. . . This Salem philosophy, some men may call the new philosophy; but I think it rather deserves the name of Salem superstition and sorcery, and it

is not fit to be named in a land of such light as New-England is. . . .

Secondly, with respect to the confessors, as they are improperly called, or such as confess themselves to be witches, (the second thing you inquire into in your letter), there are now about fifty of them in prison; many of which I have again and again seen and heard; and I cannot but tell you, that my faith is strong concerning them, that they are deluded, imposed upon, and under the influence of some evil spirit; and therefore unfit to be witnesses either against themselves, or any one else. I now speak of one sort of them and of others afterward.

These confessors, as they are called, do very often contradict themselves, as inconsistently as is usual for any crazed, distempered person to do. This the S[alem] G[entlemen] do see and take notice of; and even the judges themselves have, at some times, taken these confessors in flat lies, or contradictions, even in the courts; by reason of which, one would have thought, that the judges would have frowned upon the said confessors, discarded them, and not minded one tittle of any thing that they said; but instead thereof, as sure as we are men, the judges vindicate these confessors, and salve their contradictions, by proclaiming, that the devil takes away their memory, and imposes upon their brain. If this reflects any where, I am very sorry for it: I can but assure you, that, upon the word of an honest man, it is truth, and that I can bring you many credible persons to witness it, who have been eye and ear witnesses to these things. . . .

Now for the proof of the said sorcery and witchcraft, the prisoner at the bar pleading not guilty.

1. The afflicted persons are brought into court; and after much patience and pains taken with them, do take their oaths that the prisoner at the bar did afflict them. . . .

2. The confessors do declare what they know of the said prisoner; and some of the confessors are allowed to give their oaths; a thing which I believe was never heard of in this world; that such as confess themselves to be witches, to have renounced God and Christ, and all that is sacred, should yet be allowed and ordered to swear by the name of the great God! This indeed seemeth to me to be a gross taking of God's name in vain. I know the S[alem] G[entlemen] do say, that there is hope that the said confessors have repented; I shall only say, that if they have repented, it is well for themselves; but if they have not, it is very ill for you know who. . . .

4. They are searched by a jury; and as to some of them, the jury brought in, that on such or such a place there was a preternatural excrescence. And I wonder what person there is, whether man or woman, of whom it cannot be said but that, in some part of the body or other, there is a preternatural excrescence. The term is a very general and inclusive term.

Some of the S[alem] G[entlemen] are very forward to censure and condemn the poor prisoner at the bar, because he sheds no tears: but such betray great ignorance in the nature of passion, and as great heedlessness as to common passages of a man's life. . . .

It is true, that over and above the evidences of the afflicted persons, there are many evidences brought in, against the prisoner at the bar; either that he

was at a witch meeting, or that he performed things which could not be done by an ordinary natural power; or that she sold butter to a sailor which proving bad at sea; and the seaman exclaiming against her, she appeared, and soon after there was a storm, or the like. . . .

As to the late executions, I shall only tell you, that in the opinion of many unprejudiced, considerate and considerable spectators, some of the condemned went out of the world not only with as great protestations, but also with as good shews of innocency, as men could do.

They protested their innocency as in the presence of the great God, whom forthwith they were to appear before: they wished, and declared their wish, that their blood might be the last innocent blood shed upon that account. With great affection they intreated Mr. C[otton] M[ather] to pray with them: they prayed that God would discover what witchcrafts were among us; they forgave their accusers: they spake without reflection on jury and judges, for bringing them in guilty, and condemning them. . . . and seemed to be very sincere, upright, and sensible of their circumstances on all accounts; . . . but they are executed, and so I leave them. . . .

I cannot but admire, that any should go with their distempered friends and relations to the afflicted children, to know what their distempered friends ail; whether they are not bewitched; who it is that afflicts them, and the like. . . . This consulting of these afflicted children, as abovesaid, seems to me to be a very gross evil, a real abomination, not fit to be known in N. E. and yet is a thing practised, not only by *Tom* and *John*—I mean the ruder and more

ignorant sort—but by many who profess high, and pass among us for some of the better sort. This is that which aggravates the evil, and makes it heinous and tremendous. . . .

The chief judge is very zealous in these proceedings, and says, he is very clear as to all that hath as yet been acted by this court, and, as far as ever I could perceive, is very impatient in hearing any thing that looks another way. . . .

But although the chief judge, and some of the other judges, be very zealous in these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men for understanding, judgment, and piety, inferior to few, if any, in N. E. that do utterly condemn the said proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz. that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor N. E. . . .

Nineteen persons have now been executed, and one pressed to death for a mute: seven more are condemned; two of which were reprieved, because they pretend their being with child. . . .

Furthermore: These afflicted persons do say, and often have declared it, that they can see spectres when their eyes are shut, as well as when they are open. . . . I am sure they lie, at least speak falsely, if they say so; for the thing, in nature, is an utter impossibility. It is true, they may strongly fancy, or have things represented to their imagination, when their eyes are shut; and I think this is all which ought to be allowed to these blind, nonsensical girls; and if our officers and courts have apprehended, imprisoned, condemned, and executed our guiltless neighbours, certainly our error is great, and we shall

rue it in the conclusion. There are two or three other things that I have observed in and by these afflicted persons, which make me strongly suspect that the devil imposes upon their brains, and deludes their fancy and imagination; and that the devil's book (which they say has been offered them) is a mere fancy of theirs, and no reality: That the witches' meeting, the devil's baptism, and mock sacraments, which they oft speak of, are nothing else but the effect of their fancy, depraved and deluded by the devil, and not a reality to be minded or regarded by any wise man. . . . I am very apt to think, that, did you know the circumstances of the said confessors, you would not be swayed thereby, any otherwise than to be confirmed, that all is perfect devilism, and an hellish design to ruin and destroy this poor land: For whereas there are of the said confessors 55 in number, some of them are known to be distracted, crazed women. . . others of them denied their guilt, and maintained their innocency for above eighteen hours, after most violent, distracting, and dragooning methods had been used with them to make them confess. Such methods they were, that more than one of the said confessors did since tell many, with tears in their eyes, that they thought their very lives would have gone out of their bodies; and wished that they might have been cast into the lowest dungeon, rather than be tortured with such repeated buzzings and chuckings and unreasonable urgings as they were treated withal.

They soon recanted their confessions, acknowledging, with sorrow and grief, that it was an hour of great temptation with them; and I am apt to think,

that as for five or six of the said confessors, if they are not very good Christian women, it will be no easy matter to find so many good Christian women in N. E. But, finally, as to about thirty of these fifty-five confessors, they are possessed (I reckon) with the devil, and afflicted as the children are, and therefore not fit to be regarded as to any thing they say of themselves or others. . . .

What will be the issue of these troubles, God only knows; I am afraid that ages will not wear off that reproach and those stains which these things will leave behind them upon our land. I pray God pity us, humble us, forgive us, and appear mercifully for us in this our moment of distress: herewith I conclude, and subscribe myself

Reverend sir, your real friend and humble servant,  
T[homas] B[rattle].

*The official report of the Court of Oyer and Terminer,  
at Salem and the conclusion of the proceedings,  
sent by Governour Phips to the Earl of Nottingham  
in London.*

Boston in New England Feb<sup>ry</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>. 169<sup>3</sup>.  
May it please yo<sup>r</sup> Lords<sup>hp</sup>.

By the Cap<sup>n</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Samuell & Henry I gave an account that att my arrivall here I found y<sup>e</sup> Prisons full of people comitted upon suspition of witchcraft & that continuall complaints were made to me that many persons were grievously tormented by witches & that they cryed out upon severall persons by name, as y<sup>e</sup> cause of their torments y<sup>e</sup> number of these complaints increasing every day, by advice of y<sup>e</sup>

Lieut. Govr<sup>r</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> Councill I gave a Co<sup>m</sup>mission of Oyer and Terminer to try y<sup>e</sup> suspected witches & at that time y<sup>e</sup> generality of y<sup>e</sup> People represented y<sup>e</sup> matter to me as reall witchcraft & gave very strange instances of the same. . . . At that time I went to co<sup>m</sup>mand the army at y<sup>e</sup> Eastern part of the Province. . . when I returned I found people much dissatisfied at y<sup>e</sup> proceedings of y<sup>e</sup> Court for about Twenty persons were condemned & executed of which number some were thought by many persons to be innocent. The Court still proceeded in y<sup>e</sup> same method of trying them which was by y<sup>e</sup> evidence of y<sup>e</sup> afflicted persons who when they were brought into y<sup>e</sup> Court as soon as the suspected witches looked upon them instantly fell to y<sup>e</sup> ground in strange agonies & grievous torments, but when touched by them upon y<sup>e</sup> arme or some other part of their flesh they im<sup>e</sup>diately revived & came to themselves, upon which they made oath that y<sup>e</sup> Prisoner at y<sup>e</sup> Bar did afflict them & that they saw their shape or spectre come from their bodies which put them to such paines & torments: When I enquired into y<sup>e</sup> matter I was enformed by y<sup>e</sup> Judges that they begun with this, but had humane testimony against such as were condemned & undoubted proof of their being witches, but at length I found that the Devill did take upon him y<sup>e</sup> shape of Innocent persons & some were accused of whose innocency I was well assured & many considerable persons of unblameable life & conversation were cried out upon as witches & wizards. . . . I put an end to y<sup>e</sup> Court & stopped y<sup>e</sup> proceedings which I did because I saw many innocent persons might otherwise perish & at that time I thought it my duty to give an account thereof that their Ma<sup>tes</sup>.

pleasure might be signified hoping that for the better ordering thereof y<sup>e</sup> Judges learned in the law in England might give such rules & directions as have been practized in England for proceedings in so difficult & so nice a point; When I put an end to y<sup>e</sup> Court there were at least fifty persons in prison in great misery by reason of the extreame cold & their poverty most of them having only spectre evidence against them & their mittimussses being defective I caused some of them to be lett out upon bayle & put y<sup>e</sup> Judges upon considering of a way to reliefe others & prevent them from perishing in prison, upon which some of them were convinced & acknowledged that their former proceedings were too violent & not grounded upon a right foundation but that if they might sit againe, they would proceed after another method & whereas M<sup>r</sup>. Increase Mathew [Mather] & severall other Divines did give it as their Judgment that y<sup>e</sup> Devill might afflict in y<sup>e</sup> shape of an innocent person & that y<sup>e</sup> look & y<sup>e</sup> touch of y<sup>e</sup> suspected persons was not sufficient prooffe against them, these things had not y<sup>e</sup> same stress layd upon them as before & upon this consideration I permitted a spetiall Superior Court to be held at Salem in y<sup>e</sup> County of Essex on y<sup>e</sup> third day of January y<sup>e</sup> Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup>. being Chief Judge their method of proceeding being altered, all that were brought to tryall to y<sup>e</sup> number of fifty two, were cleared saving three. . . the stop put to y<sup>e</sup> first method of proceedings hath dissipated y<sup>e</sup> black cloud that threatened this Province with destruc<sup>o</sup>n; for whereas this delusion of y<sup>e</sup> Devill did spread & its dismall effects touched y<sup>e</sup> lives & estates of many of their Ma<sup>tes</sup> Subjects & y<sup>e</sup> reputa<sup>o</sup>n of some

of y<sup>e</sup> principall persons here & indeed unhappily clogged and interrupted their Mat<sup>rs</sup> affaires which hath been a great vexation to me! I have no new complaints but peoples minds before divided and distracted by differing opinions concerning this matter are now well composed

I am


Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships most faithfull

humble Servant

William Phips.

*The sobering effect of reflection on Dr. Mather and Judge Sewall and their expressions of penitence, the one private, the other public, but both sincere.*

[January 15, 1697]

Being afflicted last Night, with discouraging Thoughts as if unavoidable *Marks*, of the *Divine Displeasure* must overtake my *Family*, for my not appearing with *Vigor* enough to stop the proceedings of the Judges, when the Inextricable Storm from the *Invisible World* assaulted the Countrey, I did this morning, in prayer with my Family, putt my Family into the Merciful Hands of the Lord. And, with Tears, I received  Assurance of the Lord, that Marks of His Indignation should not follow my Family, but that having the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ pleading for us, *Goodness* and *Mercy* should follow us, and the signal *Salvation* of the Lord.

— Cotton Mather.

[January, 169<sup>8</sup>]

Copy of the Bill I put up on the Fast day; giving it to Mr. Willard as he pass'd by, and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing when finished; in the Afternoon.

Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family; and being sensible, that as to the Guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Comission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this Day relates) he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, Desires to take the Blame and Shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God, who has an Unlimited Authority, would pardon that sin and all other his sins; personal and Relative: And according to his infinite Benignity, and Sovereignty, Not Visit the sin of him or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the Land: But that He would powerfully defend him against all Temptations to Sin, for the future; and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving Conduct of his Word and Spirit.

— *Samuel Sewall.*



*Cor Cordium:* of that whence came the Issues of  
Life and by which, both now and in the latter  
Day, the Puritan must be judged.



*The discipline to which in his youth John Winthrop subjected himself and by which later he obtained authority over others.*

Feb: 8. [1606] I founde that on Saterdag in the affternoone deferringe readinge & prayer til 3 of the clocke, for the performinge of a needlesse worke, my herte was verie muche unsettled.

On Sūday beinge the 9 of March: beinge at sermō at Groton, I let in but a thought of my iornie into Essex, but strait it delighted me, & beinge not verie carefull of my heart, I was suddainely, I knowe not how, so possesd w<sup>th</sup> the worlde, as I was led into one sinne after an other, and could hardely recover my selfe, till taking myselfe to prayer before I was too farre gone, I found mercie.

Dec: 15. [1610]. . . Findinge by muche examination that ordinary shootinge in a gunne, etc: could not stande w<sup>th</sup> a good conscience in my selfe, as first, for that it is simply prohibited by the lawe of the land, uppon this grounde amonst others, that it spoiles more of the creatures than it getts: 2 it procures offence unto manye: 3 it wastes great store of tyme: 4 it toyles a mans bodye overmuch: 5 it endangers a mans life, etc: 6 it brings no profite all things considered: 7 it hazards more of a mans estate by the penaltye of it, then a man would willingly parte with: 8 it brings a man of worth & godlines into some contempt:—lastly for mine owne parte I haue ever binne crossed in usinge it, for when I haue gone about it not w<sup>th</sup>out some woūdes of conscience,

I haue taken much paynes & hazarded my healthe, I haue gotten sometimes a verye little but most commonly nothinge at all towards my cost & labour:

Therefore I haue resolved & covenanted w<sup>th</sup> the Lorde to give over altogether shootinge at the creeke;—& for killinge of birds, etc: either to leave that altogether or els to use it, bothe verye seldome & verye secretly.

Sep: 8. 1612. finding that the variety of meates drawes me on to eate more than standeth w<sup>th</sup> my healthe, I have resolved not to eate of more then 2 dishes at any one meale, whither fish, flesh, fowle or fruite or whittmeats etc: whither at home or abroad; the lorde give me care & abilitie to performe it.

[1616–1617] I see therefore I must keepe a better watche over my heart, & keepe my thoughts close to good things, & not suffer a vaine or worldly thought to enter, etc: least it drawe the heart to delight in it. And therefore I propose (so farre as God shall give me grace) to stint myselfe to my tymes in this sort, except necessarie occasiō makes me to alter:

first, for the forenoone to spend it whollye in the service of God & duties of my callinge. After dinner I will allow an houre to my worldly affaires & if need shall so require somewhat more, otherwise (when it will stand w<sup>th</sup> my health & other conveniences) in visitinge some neighbour or etc.; & then to my studye againe.

[1616–1617] My disposition is ever fittest upon the first apprehension of any thinge; if it once hange of hande, & that I begine once to beat my head about

it, & meet w<sup>th</sup> any rubbe or discouragement, I cannot for my life proceed to make any dispatche, &c; as in writinge of lettres, &c, whilst I have some tymes been over carefull & studious for the forme, I have cleane lost bothe my matter & invention, & on the other side when I have gone on w<sup>th</sup> more readinesse & lesse curiositie, I have donne farre better in conclusion bothe for matter & forme.

*The character of one long a pilgrim to the heavenly city;  
of his entrance into which who shall doubt?*

*Anno Dom: 1643.*

I am to begine this year whith that which was a mater of great saddnes and moūring unto them all. Aboute y<sup>e</sup> 18. of Aprill dyed their Reve<sup>d</sup> Elder, and my dear & loving friend, M<sup>r</sup> William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus and y<sup>e</sup> gospels sake, and had bore his parte in well and woe with this poore persecuted church above 36. years in England, Holand and in this wildernes, and done y<sup>e</sup> Lord & them faithfull service in his place & calling. . . .

I should say something of his life, if to say a litle were not worse than to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though hapily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. y<sup>e</sup> knowledg of y<sup>e</sup> Latine tongue, & some insight in y<sup>e</sup> Greeke, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with y<sup>e</sup> seeds of grace and vertue, he went to y<sup>e</sup> Courte, and served that religious and godly gentlman, M<sup>r</sup> Davison, diverce

years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithfull as he trusted him above all other that were aboute him, and only imployed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecie. . . He attended his m<sup>r</sup> when he was sente in ambassage by the Queene into y<sup>e</sup> Low-Countries, in y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Leicesters time. . . . He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place aboute y<sup>e</sup> death of y<sup>e</sup> Queene of Scots; and some good time after, doing him manie faithfull offices of servise in y<sup>e</sup> time of his troubles. Afterwards he wente and lived in y<sup>e</sup> country, in good esteeme amongst his freinds and y<sup>e</sup> gentle-men of those parts, espetially the godly & religious. . . . And in this state he continued many years, doing y<sup>e</sup> best good he could, and walking according to y<sup>e</sup> light he saw, till y<sup>e</sup> Lord reveiled further unto him. And in y<sup>e</sup> end, by y<sup>e</sup> tirrany of y<sup>e</sup> bishops against godly preachers & people, in silenceing the one & persecuting y<sup>e</sup> other, he and many more of those times begane to looke further into things, and to see into y<sup>e</sup> unlawfullnes of their callings, and y<sup>e</sup> burthen of many anti-christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast of. . . . He was y<sup>e</sup> cheefe of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered y<sup>e</sup> greatest loss, and of y<sup>e</sup> seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to y<sup>e</sup> assises. Affter he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spent y<sup>e</sup> most of his means, haveing a great charge, and many children; and, in regard of his former breeding & course of life, not so fitt for many imployments as others were, espetially such as were toylesume & laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfullnes and contentation. Towards

y<sup>e</sup> later parte of those 12. years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well & plentifully, for he fell into a way (by reason he had y<sup>e</sup> Latine tongue) to teach many students, who had a disire to lerne y<sup>e</sup> English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie; for he drew rules to lerne it by, after y<sup>e</sup> Latine maner; and many gentlemen, both Danes & Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great mens soñes. He also had means to set up printing, (by y<sup>e</sup> help of some freinds,) and so had imploymente inough, and by reason of many books which would not be alowed to be printed in England, they might have had more then they could doe. But now removeing into this countrie, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his parte, and to bear his burthen with y<sup>e</sup> rest, living many times without bread, or corne, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunke nothing but water for many years togeather, yea, till within 5. or 6. years of his death. And yet he lived (by y<sup>e</sup> blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides y<sup>t</sup>, he would labour with his hands in y<sup>e</sup> feilds as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Saboth, and y<sup>t</sup> both powerfully and profitably, to y<sup>e</sup> great contentment of y<sup>e</sup> hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie. He did more in this behalfe in a year, then many that have their hundreds a year doe in all their lives. For his personall abilities, he was

qualified above many; he was wise and discreete and well spoken, having a grave & deliberate utterance, of a very cheerfull spirite, very sociable & pleasante amongst his freinds, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under vallewing him self & his owne abilities, and some time over valewing others; inoffencive and inōcente in his life & conversation; w<sup>ch</sup> gained him y<sup>e</sup> love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainly of their faults & evils, both publickly & privatly, but in such a maner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender harted, and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but espetially of such as had been of good estate and ranke, and were fallen unto want & poverty, either for goodnes & religions sake, or by y<sup>e</sup> injury & oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserve to be pitied most. And none did more offend & displease him then such as would hautily and proudly carry & lift up themselves, being rise from nothing, and haveing litle els in them to commend them but a few fine cloaths, or a litle riches more then others. In teaching, he was very moving & stirring of affections, also very plaine & distincte in what he taught; by which means he became y<sup>e</sup> more profitable to y<sup>e</sup> hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both publick & private, in ripping up y<sup>e</sup> hart & conscience before God, in y<sup>e</sup> humble confession of sinne, and begging y<sup>e</sup> mercies of God in Christ for y<sup>e</sup> pardon of y<sup>e</sup> same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and devide their prears, then to be longe & tedious in y<sup>e</sup> same (excepte upon sollemne & spetiall occations, as in days of humiliation & y<sup>e</sup> like). His reason was, that y<sup>e</sup> harte & spirits of all, espetially y<sup>e</sup>

weake, could hardly continue & stand bente (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to doe in y<sup>t</sup> duty, without flagging and falling of. . . . But I must breake of, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

— William Bradford.

*The many afflictions of a righteous man in all of which he sees the will of God.*

[164?]

My Heart has been long lying out from the Lord. The Lord *first* sent a Terrible Storm at Sea, to awaken me; and the Deliverance from it was so sweet, that I could not but think my Life after *that*, should be only *Heavenly*, as being pull'd from an apparent *Death* to live a *New Life*. *Then*, immediately upon this my *Child* was taken away from me; my *First-Born*, which made me remember, how bitter it was to cross the Lord's Love. *Thirdly*, I set my Face to *New-England*, where considering the *Liberties* of God's House, I resolved and thought it fit to be wholly for the Lord, in all manner of *Holiness*, at Bed, at Board, everywhere. *Fourthly*, Then the Lord took my dear *Wife* from me, and this made me resolve to delight no more in *Creatures*, but in the Lord, and to seek him. *Fifthly*, The Lord then threatened *Blindness* to my Child; and this made God's Will *Afflicting* sweet to me, but much more *Commanding* and *Promising*: And then I could do his Will, and leave those things to himself.

— Thomas Shepard.

Roger Williams, *an outcast from Massachusetts Bay, pleads with Governour Endicot for liberty of conscience and faithfully reproves him for hardness and obduracy.*

[Providence, August, 1651]

Oh how comes it then that I have heard so often, and heard so lately, and heard so much, that he that speakes so tenderly for his owne, hath yet so little respect, mercie or pitie to the like *consciencious* perswasions of other Men? Are all the Thousands of millions of millions of Consciences, at home and abroad, fuell onely for a *prison*, for a *whip*, for a *stake*, for a *Gallowes*? Are no Consciences to breathe the *Aire*, but such as suit and sample his? . . . .

. . . First, I feare you cannot after so much *Light*, and so much profession to the contrary (not onely to my selfe, and so often in private, but) before so many Witnesses; I say, I feare you cannot say and act so much, against so many severall Consciences former and later, but with great *Checks*, great *Threatnings*, great *Blowes* and *Throwes* of inward *Conscience*.

Secondly, If you shall thanke God, that it is not so with you, but that you doe what *Conscience* bids you in God's presence, upon Gods warrant, I must then be humbly faithfull to tell you, that I feare your underprizing of holy *Light*, hath put out the *Candle*, and the *Eye of Conscience* in these particulars, and that *Delusions*, strong *Delusions*, and that from God (by Sathans subtletie) hath seasd upon your very Soules beliefe, because you priz'd not lov'd not the indangered persecuted Son of God in his despised *Truths* and *Servants*. . . .

Oh remember it is a dangerous Combat for the *potsheards* of the Earth to fight with their dreadfull Potter: It is a dismall *Battle* for poore naked *feete* to kick against the *Pricks*; It is a dreadfull *voyce* from the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, *Endicot, Endicot*, why *huntest* thou *me*? why *imprisonest* thou *me*? why *finest*, why so bloudily *whippest*, why wouldest thou (did not I hould thy *bloudie* hands) *hang* and *burne* *me*? Yea, Sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the *may be*, to the *venture* or *hazzard*, to the *possibilitie*: Is it possible (may you well say) that since I *hunt*, I *hunt* not the *Life* of my *Saviour*, and the blood of the *Lambe of God*: I have fought against many severall sorts of *Consciencs*, is it beyond all *possibilitie* and *hazard*, that I have not fought against *God*, that I have not persecuted *Jesus* in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any Man or Men to maintaine their *Christ* by their *Sword*, and to worship a true *Christ*! to fight against all *Consciencs* opposite to theirs, and not to fight against *God* in some of them. . . .

Sir, I know I have much presumed upon your many waighty *affaires* and *thoughts*, I end with an humble cry to the *Father* of *mercies*, that you may take *Davids Counsell*, and silently commune with your owne heart upon your *Bed*, reflect upon your owne *spirit*, and believe Him that said it to his over zealous *Disciples*, You know not what *spirit* you are of: That, no sleepe may seize upon your *eyes*, nor slumber upon your *eyelids*, untill your serious thoughts have *seriously*, *calmely*, and *unchangeably* (through helpe from *Christ Jesus*) fixed.

First, On a *Moderation* towards the *Spirits* and

*Conscienc*es of all mankinde, meerly differing from or opposing yours with onely Religious and Spirituall *opposition*.

Secondly, A deepe and cordiall *Resolution* (in these wonderfull searching, disputing, and dissenting times) to search, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearefully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy *pleasure*, and the holy *mysteries* of the most Holy are; in whom I humbly desire to be

Your poore fellow-Servant, unfainedly,  
respective and faithfull,  
R. Williams.

*Deep meditations of diverse pious souls.*

I Common-placed. I could Scarce abstain from Secret Pride; altho' a very base Vanity of mind (with which every thing of mine is poison'd!) had laid me low in the Dust before God, besides my other Sins, which lay me lower than the very Worms of the Dust.

I gave too much Liberty unto Merry Talk, with some of my Friends.

I went unto *Boston*, and there took a Civil Liberty: But from such entertainments my Heart grew light and unsavoury.

— *Jonathan Mitchel.*

I spoke two unadvised Words to Day. Tho' there was no great harm in them, yet I was rebuked by my Conscience for them. Let the Lord forgive them; and for the future, set a watch before the Door of my Lips.

I was too forgetful of God, and exceeding in Tobacco. The Lord pardon that, and all other Sins and heal this Nature, and humble this Heart.

This Day I have been more chearful than I have been of a long time. It hath afflicted me since, fearing it was not suitable.

— *John Baily.*

I Diverted my self (I hope) with a Lawfull Recreation in Hunting with M<sup>r</sup> Barrett.—A moderate Diversion may brighten and be very advantageous by Refreshing y<sup>e</sup> mind & so giving it y<sup>e</sup> greater Life in y<sup>e</sup> performance of Duty—but will God always keep me from wasting my precious Time in too long and Unnecessary Recreations.

— *Samuel Dexter.*

*A portrait of a dismal spectacle—a Boston old maid, aged twenty-six—as limned by an admirer of her virtues.*

[1686]

. . . She was little Transported with this Zeal of Voluntary Virginitie as knowing there's few Practice it. But tho' an old (or Super-annuated) Maid, in Boston, is thought such a curse as nothing can exceed it, and look'd on as a Dismal Spectacle, yet she by her good Nature, Gravity, and strict Vertue, convinces all (so much as the Fleering Beaus) that tis not her necessity, but her Choice, that keeps her a Virgin. Mr. Larkin, she's now about Twenty Six years. . . yet she never disguises her self by the Gayetys of a Youthful Dress, and talks as little as

she thinks of Love: She goes to no Balls or Dancing Match. . . . Modesty appears in her in the highest elevation and comes unto shamefac'dness: Her Looks, her Speech, her whole behaviour are so very chaste, that but once going to kiss her, I thought she'd ha' blush'd to death. . . . She avoids ill Company and Idleness; and her Conversation being generally amongst the Women, (as there's least Danger from that Sex) I found it no easie matter to Enjoy her Company: Most of her time but what's taken up in Religious Worship, is spent in acquiring those Accomplishments which become her Quality, as singing, Writing, Needleworks, Learning French, and the like. And I must tell you, she has so well learnt the Art of Domestick Government, as to be able to manage. . . a large House of her own. As to Plays and Romances (which are thought a fit Study for Ladies) she tells me she never reads 'em. . . .

I shall next speak of her visits abroad, and they are all Innocent: I think my self and Mr. King, (who I told you was a Loving Soul) were an hour perswading her to take a Ramble with us to Governours Island, to accept of a small Treat; but on no other terms cou'd we prevail, but this, That she might have the Company of Madam Brick, and Mr. Green, and Mrs. Toy. . . to go along with her. . . .

Neither did she waste much of her time in Dressing her self. . . . She knew Time was a Dressing-Room for Eternity, and therefore reserves most of her Hours for better uses than those of the Comb, the Toylet, and the Glass.

— *John Dunton.*

*The compunctions and confessions of another lady of conscience.*

[December 6, 1727]

I often mourn the Loss of that *Time* I have spent in reading *useless Books*, which I am sensible had been better improv'd in working out my Souls Salvation. . . . The Things that *once* appear'd innocent Amusements, *now* appear to be sinful. It amazes me to think that one so Young as I, scarce *Twenty* Years Old, should have heap'd up so much Sin and Guilt.

[1727]

O My Dear, let me beg of you not to spend any part of your precious Time in reading *Romances* or idle *Poems*, which tend only to raise false *Ideas* and impure *Images* in the Mind, and leave a vile Tincture upon it.

— Jane Turrell.

*An impartial estimate of several famous divines, particularly of those eminent and, of late, misjudged preachers and scholars, Doctors Increase and Cotton Mather.*

[1768]

. . . In regard of literature, or acquaintance with books of all kinds, I give the palm to Doct. Cotton Mather. No native of this country, as I imagine, had read so much, or retained more of what he had read. He was the greatest redeemer of time I ever knew; and lost as little of it as any one could do in his situation. There were scarcely any books

written but he had some how or other got the sight of them. His own library was the largest by far of any private one on the continent. He was always reading and writing, and had the happiest talent for going rapidly through a book. Had his powers of judging and reasoning been equal to his other faculties, I should have ranked him among the first three. He knew more of the history of this country, from the beginning to this day, than any man in it; and could he have conveyed his knowledge with proportionable judgment, and the omission of a vain show of much learning, he would have given the best history of it. He had his oddities, foibles, and credulities, all which imperfections are too visible in his writings, and have been greatly detrimental to his character as well as intentions, to answer the end of doing good. His father, Doct. Increase Mather, was more solid and judicious, though less learned. He was indeed a man of very considerable learning for that day, but still he fell much below his son in this accomplishment. He did not excel in his capacity of seeing to the bottom of the subject. He was a grave, serious, solid, judicious, useful preacher; but not the most rational one. He possessed the reasoning power in a moderate degree only. Mr. Stoddard of Northampton exceeded him in this respect, though much his inferiour in point of learning. I suppose this Mr. Stoddard to have been a gentleman of very considerable powers, though not so great as some have imagined. Mr. Edwards, his grandson, was much the greatest man. . . .

— *Charles Chauncey.*

*The concern of the Reverend Increase Mather for his sick children.*

[April 10, 1675]

Sam mended (after I had wept e\* prayd for his life) vpo<sup>n</sup> vsing sallad oyle e a clyster. This day I Fasted e prayd in my study, begging for ye Lives of my two sick children Nath. & Sam.

As for Sam: His distemp[er]s were yn\*\* removed y<sup>e</sup> L[or]d graciously dealing wth me, as in Isa: 65. 20. dan. 9. 23. Several arg[umen]ts came into my mind, w<sup>h</sup> caused me to Hope yt God w[ou]ld spare his life; (& I pleaded ym bef[ore] ye Ld) one was, yt I had called his Name Samuel ovt of obedience to ye will of God, who requireth me to endeavor to keep vp ye Name & memory of my deceased brother. I thought ye Lord w[ou]ld in him shew respect in ye Name of his blessed vncle. Also, in yt I had given him to God ye first day yt Hee came unto ye world. Also I had prayed (wth Tears e some Faith) bef[ore] ys day, for him, yt God would give of yt spirit to ys child w<sup>h</sup> did sometimes rest vpo<sup>n</sup> his blessed vncle. His mother, e his Brother Cotton were wth me in my study after a day of secret Hu<sup>m</sup>iliat[io]n bef[ore] ye Lord, w[he]n I thus prayed for ye child, all of vs weeping for him. Now I thought it might be some discourag[men]t to Cotton in case Hee sld see yt his poor sinfull Fathers prayrs, were not heard; yō [though] I humbly pleaded yt wth God.

\* The abbreviation for *et* = and.

\*\* y is regularly used for *th* and *the*; thus, yn = then, ys = this.

*The inner life of Doctor Cotton Mather as revealed in his diary, showing many sides of that strange character.*

[July 6, 1681]

About the Middle of this Month, I lost abundance of precious Time, thro' tormenting Pains in my *Teeth* and *Jawes*; which kind of *Pains* have indeed produced mee many a sad Hour, in my short Pilgrimage.

In the Pains that were now upon mee, I sett myself, as well as I could for my Pains, to *search and try my Ways*. I considered,

I. Have I not sinned with my *Teeth*? How? By sinful, graceless excessive *Eating*. And by evil *Speeches*, for there are *Literae dentales* used in them?

II. This is an *old* Malady, from which I have yett been free, for a considerable while. Lett mee ask then; Have not I of late given way to some *old* Iniquity?

[February 9, 1684]

In passing along the *Street*, I have sett myself to *bless* thousands of persons, who never knew that I did it; with *secret Wishes*, after this manner sent unto Heaven for them.

Upon the Sight of  
A *tall* Man.

Ejaculations  
*Lord*, give that Man, *High Attainments* in Christianity:  
lett him fear God, *above many*.

A *lame* Man.

*Lord*, help that Man, to *walk uprightly*.

A *Negro*.

*Lord*, wash that poor Soul *white* in the Blood of thy Son.

. . . . .

A Man, who going by mee took      *Lord*, help that Man, to take  
     *no Notice* of mee.                      a *due Notice* of the Lord  
   Jesus Christ, I pray thee.

One whom I *know not*: (and      *Lord*, lett this Person bee so  
     saw no other singular Circum-      *known* to, as to bee *sav'd*  
     stance about him, to shape      by, the *Lord*.  
     any Thoughts upon.)

[April 19, 1713]

I am often putt upon *Mending of my Pen*. I would make this Action, an Occasion of my sending up to Heaven some Desire of this Importance, *Lord*, *Mend me, and fitt me for thy Service*.

[March 12, 1706]

I see all Creatures everywhere full of their *Delights*. The Birds are singing; the Fish are sporting; the Four-footed are glad of what they meet withal; the very Insects have their Satisfactions. 'Tis a marvellous Display of infinite Goodness. The Good God has made His Creatures capable of *Delights*; He accommodates them with continual *Delights*. Their Delights are the delicious Entertainments of His infinite *Goodness*. His *Goodness* takes Pleasure, and is delighted in the Delights of His Creatures.

Well; is there no way for me to *resemble* and *imitate*, this incomparable *Goodness* of God! Yes; I see my *Neighbours* all accommodated with their various Delights. All have *some*, and some have *many*. Now, I may honestly make their *Delights* my own. I may rejoice in the *Delights*, which I see the *Goodness* of God bestowing upon them. I may make their Prosperity, not my *Envy*, but my *Pleasure*. I may be glad, at all the good, that I see done unto them. Oh! the Glory, oh, the glorious Joy of their

Goodness! Lord, imprint this thy Image upon me.


[April 3, 1701]

I often find, that when I preach of the Angels, or on a Subject (such as the Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ,) very singularly agreeable to the Angels, I have a more than ordinary Assistance in my public Ministrations. My Mind, and Voice and Strength, is evidently under some special Energy from the invisible World; and a notable Fervency and Majesty and Powerful pungency setts off my Discourses.

[April 13, 1703]

Extraordinary Things were again done for me, that cannot be related. I will only say, the Angels of Heaven are at work for me. And I have *my own Angel*, who is a better Friend unto me, than any I have upon Earth.

On Tuesday, 4d. 3m. [1686], I was *married* [to Abigail Phillips] and the good Providence of God caused my Wedding to be attended with many Circumstances of Respect and Honour, above most that have ever been in these parts of the World. . . .

. . . Going over to *Charlstown*, and having some Leisure-Time there, before the Arrival of the Neighbouring Ministers, and other persons of Qualitie, expected, I carried my *Bible* with mee, into the garden; where I singled out, the story of the *Wedding* in the *second* Chapter of *John*, and fetched for myself, one *Observation*, and one *Supplication*, out of every Verse in that Story:  In the doing whereof, I received further Assurances from the Spirit of my Heavenly Lord, *that I was Blessed, and should bee Blessed by him Forever.*

[October 3, 1701]

But there was another signal Article of my *Praises* to the Lord, on this Day; and this was, the Confluence of *Blessings*, which I enjoy in my dearest *Consort*, who bore me Company in some of the Duties of the Day. Her *Piety*, the agreeable Charms of her *Person*, her obliging Deportment unto *me*, her *Discretion* in ordering my and her Affairs, and avoiding every thing that might be dishonourable to either of us, and the lovely Off-Spring that I have received by her, and her being spared unto me for now more than *Fifteen Years*; these are things that I should thankfully acknowledge before the Lord.

At last, the black Day arrives: *Tuesday*, the first of *Decembe*. [1702] I had never yett seen such a black Day, in all the Time of my Pilgrimage. The *Desire of my Eyes* is this Day to be taken from me. Her Death is lingring, and painful. All the Forenoon of this Day, she lies in the Pangs of Death; sensible, until the last Minute or two before her final Expiration.

I cannot Remember the Discourses that passed between us. Only, her devout Soul was full of Satisfaction, about her going to a State of Blessedness with the Lord Jesus Christ, and as far as my Distress would permitt me, I studied how to confirm her Satisfaction and Consolation.

This I remember, that a little before she died, I asked her to tell me faithfully, what Fault she had seen in my Conversation, that she would advise me to rectify. She replied (which I wondered at,) that she knew of none, but that God had made what she had observed in my Conversation exceeding service-

able unto her, to bring her much nearer unto Himself.

When I saw to what a Point of Resignation, I was now called of the Lord, I resolved, with His Help therin to glorify Him. So, two Hours before my lovely Consort expired, I kneeled by her Bed-Side, and I took into my two Hands, a dear Hand, the dearest in the World. With her then in my Hands, I solemnly and sincerely gave her up unto the Lord; and in token of my real RESIGNATION, I gently putt her out of my Hands, and laid away a most lovely Hand, resolving that I would never touch it any more!

This was the hardest and perhaps the bravest Action, that ever I did. She afterwards told me, that she *sign'd and seal'd my Act of Resignation*. And tho' before that, she call'd for me, continually; she after this never asked for me any more.

She continued until near two a clock, in the Afternoon. And the last sensible Word, that she spoke, was to her weeping Father, *Heaven, Heaven will make amends for all*.

— Cotton Mather.

*The resolutions of Jonathan Edwards, composed in early youth and most faithfully adhered to, as attest his later walk and conversation.*

## RESOLUTIONS

Being sensible that I am unable to do any thing without God's help, I do humbly entreat him by his grace, to enable me to keep these Resolutions, so far as they are agreeable to his will, for Christ's sake.

REMEMBER TO READ OVER THESE RESOLUTIONS  
ONCE A WEEK. . . .

5. *Resolved*, Never to lose one moment of time, but to improve it in the most profitable way I possibly can. . . .

7. *Resolved*, Never to do any thing, which I should be afraid to do, if it were the last hour of my life. . . .

10. *Resolved*, When I feel pain, to think of the pains of Martyrdom, and of Hell. . . .

18. *Resolved*, To live so, at all times, as I think is best in my most devout frames, and when I have the clearest notions of the things of the Gospel, and another world. . . .

38. *Resolved*, Never to utter any thing that is sportive or matter of laughter, on a Lord's day. . . .

46. *Resolved*, Never to allow the least measure of any fretting or uneasiness at my father or mother. *Resolved*, To suffer no effects of it, so much as in the least alteration of speech, or motion of my eye; and to be especially careful of it with respect to any of our family. . . .

51. *Resolved*, That I will act so, in every respect, as I think I shall wish I had done, if I should at last be damned. . . .

58. *Resolved*, Not only to refrain from an air of dislike, fretfulness, and anger in conversation, but to exhibit an air of love, cheerfulness and benignity. . . .

63. On the supposition, that there never was to be but one individual in the world, at one time, who was properly a complete christian, in all respects of a right stamp, having christianity always shining in its true lustre, and appearing excellent and lovely, from whatever part and under whatever character viewed; *Resolved*, To act just as I would do, if I

strove with all my might to be that one, who should live in my time. . . .

70. Let there be something of benevolence, in all that I speak. . . .

Sabbath, Jan. 6. [1723] *At night*; Much concerned about the improvement of precious time. Intend to live in continual mortification, without ceasing, and even to weary myself thereby, as long as I am in this world, and never to expect or desire any worldly ease or pleasure.

— *Jonathan Edwards.*

*Reflections on the glory and majesty of God.*

. . . After this my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of every thing was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet, cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in every thing; in the sun, moon, and stars; in the clouds and blue sky; in the grass, flowers, trees; in the water and all nature; which used greatly to fix my mind. I often used to sit and view the moon for a long time; and in the day, spent much time in viewing the clouds and sky, to behold the sweet glory of God in these things: in the meantime, singing forth, with a low voice, my contemplations of the Creator and Redeemer. And scarce any thing, among all the works of nature, was so sweet to me as thunder and lightning; formerly nothing had

been so terrible to me. Before, I used to be uncommonly terrified with thunder, and to be struck with terror when I saw a thunder-storm rising; but now, on the contrary, it rejoiced me. I felt God, if I may so speak, at the first appearance of a thunder-storm, and used to take the opportunity, at such times, to fix myself in order to view the clouds, and see the lightnings play, and hear the majestic and awful voice of God's thunder, which oftentimes was exceedingly entertaining, leading me to sweet contemplations of my great and glorious God. While thus engaged, it always seemed natural for me to sing, or chant forth my meditations; or, to speak my thoughts in soliloquies with a singing voice.

— *Jonathan Edwards.*

*Sarah Pierrepont, afterwards the beloved wife of Jonathan Edwards, described as maid and matron; also some of her own words written in joy and likewise in deepest sorrow, but ever in Christian serenity.*

[1723]

They say there is a young lady\* in [New Haven] who is beloved of that Great Being, who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this Great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight, and that she hardly cares for anything, except to meditate on him—that she expects after a while to be received up where he is, to be raised up out of the world and caught up into heaven;

\* Sarah Pierrepont was then thirteen years of age.

being assured that he loves her too well to let her remain at a distance from him always. There she is to dwell with him, and to be ravished with his love and delight forever. Therefore, if you present all the world before her, with the richest of its treasures, she disregards it and cares not for it, and is unmindful of any pain or affliction. She has a strange sweetness in her mind, and singular purity in her affections; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct; and you could not persuade her to do any thing wrong or sinful, if you would give her all the world, lest she should offend this Great Being. She is of a wonderful sweetness, calmness, and universal benevolence of mind; especially after this Great God has manifested himself to her mind. She will sometimes go about from place to place, singing sweetly; and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure; and no one knows for what. She loves to be alone, walking in the fields and groves, and seems to have some one invisible always conversing with her.

— *Jonathan Edwards.*

Northampton, October 19, 1740. Mrs. Edwards is a woman adorned with a meek and quiet spirit. She talked feelingly and solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such a helpmeet for her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers, which for some months, I have put up to God, that He would send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife. I find, upon many accounts, it is my duty to marry. Lord, I desire to have no choice of my own.

— *George Whitefield.*

. . . That night, which was Thursday night, Jan. 28, [1742] was the sweetest night I ever had in my life. I never before, for so long a time together, enjoyed so much of the light, and rest and sweetness of heaven in my soul, but without the least agitation of body during the whole time. The great part of the night I lay awake, sometimes asleep, and sometimes between sleeping and waking. But all night I continued in a constant, clear and lively sense of the heavenly sweetness of Christ's excellent and transcendent love, of his nearness to me, and of my dearness to him; with an inexpressibly sweet calmness of soul in an entire rest in him. I seemed to myself to perceive a glow of divine love come down from the heart of Christ in heaven, into my heart, in a constant stream, like a stream or pencil of sweet light. At the same time, my heart and soul all flowed out in love to Christ; so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing of heavenly and divine love; from Christ's heart to mine, and I appeared to myself to float or swim, in these bright, sweet beams of the love of Christ, like the motes swimming in the beams of the sun; or the streams of his light which come in at the window. My soul remained in a kind of heavenly Elysium. So far as I am capable of making a comparison, I think that what I felt each minute, during the continuance of the whole time, was worth more than all the outward comfort and pleasure, which I had enjoyed in my whole life put together. It was a pure delight, which fed and satisfied the soul. It was pleasure, without the least sting, or any interruption. It was a sweetness, which my soul was lost in. It seemed to be all that my feeble frame could sus-

tain; of that fulness of joy, which is felt by those, who behold the face of Christ, and share his love in the heavenly world. . . .

— *Sarah Edwards.*

Stockbridge, April 3, 1758.

My very dear Child,

What shall I say! A holy and good God has covered us with a dark cloud. O that we may kiss the rod, and lay our hands on our mouths! The Lord has done it. He has made me adore his goodness, that we had him so long. But my God lives; and he has my heart. O what a legacy my husband, and your father, has left us! We are all given to God; and there I am, and love to be.

Your ever affectionate mother,  
Sarah Edwards.

Here endeth  
this Endeavour to reveal  
the Heart of the Puritan.  
Stand not these forth as  
Men and Women  
of God  
?



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